MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF

KING GEORGE THE THIRD.

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BY

J. HENEAGE JESSE,

AUTHOR OF "MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF ENGLAND UNDER THE STUARTS"
"MEMOIRS OF KING RICHARD III" ETC

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CHAPTER XLV.

The happiest period of the King's life—Their Majesties entertained by Lord and Lady Salisbury—Court picture from the pen of Miss Burney—The King and the sentinel—Parallel anecdote related of Oliver Cromwell—Royal visits to Nuneham, Oxford, and Blenheim—Death of the Princess Amelia, the King's aunt; her eccentric character—Institution of Sunday schools: Richard Raikes; Sarah Trimmer; Joshua Kirby—Interest taken by their Majesties in the pious work—The King's letters to Arthur Young, and agricultural improvements—John Howard—Pleasure taken by the King in the society of eminent men—His acquaintance with Dr Beattie—His visit to Eton on "Election Monday"—Conduct of the Prince of Wales—Return of the Duke of York—Mrs. Delany—Anecdotes of the King—Death of Mrs. Delany—Extracts from the King's letters—Mr. Pitt.

THE interval of time, between Mr. Pitt's elevation to the premiership in December, 1783, and the dreadful mental malady which seized the King in October, 1788, was the most tranquil, and perhaps the happiest, period of His Majesty's life. He had succeeded in emancipating himself from the haughty domination of the great Whig Houses. The affection with which he was regarded by his subjects was the source of constant gratification to him. The strong and wise administration of Mr. Pitt was a government after his own heart. Under these circumstances, though still thoroughly enjoying the pleasures of domestic privacy, we find him gratifying his subjects by constantly appearing amongst them; conversing familiarly with the poor and the humble, and enjoying the

Oct. 6. 1786. hospitality of the rich. "I never," writes the Duke of Dorset to Mr. Eden, "saw the King in such spirits. They rise in proportion to the stocks, which are beyond the sanguine expectations of everybody."*

In February, 1786, so soon as Mrs. Siddons had recovered from her lying-in, we find the King ordering Murphy's comedy, 'The Way to Keep Him,' in which the great actress performed the part of Mrs. Lovemore. A few days afterwards, Mrs. Billington, under the patronage of the King, sang for the first time in London, in the character of Rosetta, in Bickerstaffe's comic opera of 'Love in a Village.' In the month of April following, we find the King and Queen magnificently entertained by Lord and Lady Salisbury, at their mansion in Arlington Street, on the occasion of the christening of an infant daughter, whom the Marchioness, after nearly thirteen years of barrenness, had presented to her lord. The Archbishop of Canterbury performed the ceremony. The King, the Queen, and the Princess Royal stood as sponsors for the child. There may be persons to whom it may be not uninteresting to be informed, that the Queen was habited in green, covered with silver gauze; that her head-dress was a tiara of diamonds; that the royal gift was a magnificent silver salver; that the Marchioness received their Majesties sitting up in her bed; that the bed was covered with a counterpane of white satin; and that the curtains were of green damask, festooned with flowers, and lined with orange-coloured silk. At the proper moment, Harriet Countess of Essex delivered the child to the Queen, who

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. i. p. 393.—"The general voice of an Opposition, distinguished for talents and for wit, had accused the King of affecting the retired state of an Eastern Sultan, rather than the social dignity of a British monarch. The qualities which ought to have counterbalanced those impressions, the firmness and soundness of his judgment, the steadiness of his courage, the high principle upon which he regulated his conduct, the sacrifices of ease, of amusement, of indulgence, even of health, which, with unostentatious perseverance, George the Third offered up year after year to the regular discharge of his regal duties, were long in forcing their way to the public."—*Sir Walter Scott; Prose Works*, vol. iv. p. 393.

placed it in the arms of the Archbishop of Canterbury The names given to the infant were Georgiana Charlotte Augusta She grew up, and became the second wife of Henry Wellesley, the first Lord Cowley

We have, about this period, from the pen of Miss Burney, another and very interesting court picture, the occasion being the birthday of the little Princess Amelia, the darling of her father and the pet of the courtiers, and the scene the noble terrace at Windsor, where the King delighted to promenade on a summer evening attended by his fine family On such gala days it was the custom for those who enjoyed the King's friendship or favour to repair to the terrace, in order to pay their respect to their sovereign, and, accordingly, on the present occasion, thither proceeded the venerable Mrs Delany, with Miss Burney walking by the side of her sedan chair, the gift of the King The authoress of 'Evelina,' and the contemporary and friend of Swift, had not long been seated on one of the benches on the terrace, when the royal *cortége* appeared in view "It was really a mighty pretty procession, writes Miss Burney, "the little Princess, just turned of three years old, in a robe coat covered with fine muslin, a dressed close cap, white gloves and a fan, walked on alone and first, highly delighted in the parade, and turning from side to side to see everybody as she passed, for all the terracers stand up against the walls to make a clear passage for the royal family, the moment they come in sight Then followed the King and Queen, no less delighted themselves with the joy of their little darling' Behind their Majesties walked the Princess Royal, leaning on the arm of Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, then Princess Augusta, with the Mistress of the Robes, the Duchess of Ancaster, the Princess Elizabeth with Lady Charlotte Bertie, the Princess Mary with the sub governess of the Princesses, Miss Goldsworthy, the Princess Sophia with Mademoiselle

Monmoulin and Miss Planta, English teacher to the two elder Princesses; then the Master of the Horse, the Duke of Montagu, and General Budé; and, lastly, the equerry in waiting, Major Price, whose chief duty it was to prevent the crowd pressing upon the royal family. "On sight of Mrs. Delany," proceeds Miss Burney, "the King instantly stopped to speak to her. The Queen, of course, and the little Princess, and all the rest, stood still in their ranks. They talked a good deal with the sweet old lady, during which time the King once or twice addressed himself to me. I caught the Queen's eye, and saw in it a little surprise, but by no means any displeasure, to see me of the party. The little Princess went up to Mrs. Delany, of whom she is very fond, and behaved like a little angel to her. She then, with a look of inquiry and recollection, slowly, of her own accord, came behind Mrs. Delany, to look at me. 'I am afraid,' said I, in a whisper, and stooping down, 'your Royal Highness does not remember me.' What think you was her answer? An arch little smile, and a nearer approach, with her lips pouted out to kiss me. I could not resist so innocent an invitation, but the moment I had accepted it, I was half afraid it might seem, in so public a place, an improper liberty. However, there was no help for it. She then took my fan, and, having looked at it on both sides, gravely returned it to me, saying, 'O! a brown fan!' The King and Queen then bid her curtsy to Mrs. Delany, which she did most gracefully, and they all moved on; each of the Princesses speaking to Mrs. Delany as they passed, and condescending to curtsy to her companion." *

It was about a year after the date of this scene, that the King, while engaged in conversation with the Duke of York and one or two of the courtiers, happened to rest his arm upon a sun-dial, which is still

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iii. pp. 61-3.

a prominent object on the terrace at Windsor. The circumstance attracting the attention of the sentinel on duty, the man, though acquainted with the King's person, unhesitatingly walked up to him, and, having intimated that the dial was placed under his especial protection, "desired his Majesty to move away." The order was promptly obeyed by the King, who not only spoke to those about him in terms of high praise of the man's conduct, but the same day sent a message to the colonel of his regiment, desiring that he might be rewarded in such manner as the rules of military service would admit.* This anecdote may perhaps remind the reader of a somewhat similar one related by Whitelock of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell was one evening returning with Ireton from Whitelock's house, where they had supped, when they were stopped and examined by the officer of the guard, who not only refused to believe them when they gave their names, but threatened to send them to the guard-room. Ireton, according to Whitelock, "showed a little anger, but Cromwell was cheerful with the soldiers, and gave them twenty shillings, and commended them and their captain for doing their duty."†

A few days after the scene on the terrace at Windsor the Court set out on a second visit to Lord and Lady Harcourt at Nuneham; this being the same visit of which Miss Burney has given us so entertaining and graphic an account in her 'Diary and Letters.'‡ Her description of her inhospitable reception on arriving at the "straggling, half-new, half-old, half-comfortable, and half-forlorn mansion"—the undisguised disgust of the spoiled authoress at being handed out of the royal carriage by a common postilion, and not only finding neither the Lord nor Lady

* Annual Register, vol. lxii. p. 710.
† Whitelock's Memorials of English Affairs, p. 384, edition 1732.
‡ Diary and Letters, vol. iii. pp. 78-89.

of Nuneham "caring about receiving her," but not even a porter presenting himself at the hall-door—the comic gravity with which she recounts the "difficulties and disgraces" to which she was exposed in her helpless search after her apartment—her wanderings through "passages that lead to nothing"—the superciliousness with which she imagined herself to be treated by the "prodigious fine yellow-laced" menials—"superfine men in laced livery"—whom she occasionally encountered, and who were too much occupied by the visit of Majesty, immediately to attend to the authoress of 'Evelina'—her dread lest she might be caught in her travelling dress by a sudden irruption of the royal guests—and, lastly, when fairly settled in her apartment, her horror at hearing herself and Miss Planta summoned to the common supper-table of the royal attendants by a rude footman screaming out—"*the equerries want the ladies!*"—afford, unconsciously to herself, as graphic and amusing a delineation of a chapter of accidents as any to which she introduces us amongst the Brangtons and Briggses in her charming novels of 'Evelina' and 'Cecilia.'*

The Court arrived at Nuneham on Saturday, the 12th of August, and on the following day, after Divine service, the King and Queen, accompanied by the Princess Royal, and by the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, paid a second visit to Oxford. The royal party were received by the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Colleges, who conducted them in state to the theatre, which was crowded with spectators. The King took his seat on the Chancellor's chair, the Queen and Princesses sitting below him to the left. The address, which was read by the Vice-Chancellor, contained, among other expressions of loyalty, the congratulations of the University to the King on his recent happy deliverance from the knife of Margaret Nicholson; at the

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iii. pp. 78-88.

same time touching gracefully on the distress which that event must have occasioned the Queen, and paying a passing tribute to her amiable character and domestic virtues. The Queen was much affected. According to Miss Burney, who was present—"This public tribute of loyalty to the King, and of respect for herself, went gratefully to her heart, and filled her eyes with tears. She would not, however, encourage them, but, smiling through them, dispersed them with her fan, with which she was repeatedly obliged to stop their course down her cheeks." The Princesses, less accustomed to control their feelings, almost wept outright.* In the course of the afternoon, visits were paid to several of the colleges, after which the royal party returned to dinner at Nuneham.

The following morning was occupied by a visit to Blenheim. The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough received their Majesties at the grand entrance of the mansion, and subsequently conducted them through the princely apartments.† Three days afterwards, the Duchess writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury—"Their Majesties were much pleased with their reception, both at Oxford and here, as they were good enough to say; and, indeed, considering the shortness of the notice, it all went off very well. They stayed here from eleven till six. We had breakfast for them in the library, and, after they returned from seeing the park, some cold meats and fruit. Lord and Lady Harcourt told us we were to sit as lord and lady of the bedchamber all the time they stayed here; and poor Lord Harcourt seemed quite happy to be able to rest himself, and the Duke of Marlborough found him sitting down behind every door where he could be concealed from

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iii. p. 96.

† George, fourth Duke of Marlborough, K.G., a nobleman of learned tastes and retired habits, had carried the sceptre with the cross at the King's coronation. He was born in 1739, and died 29th January, 1817. His duchess was Lady Caroline Russell, daughter of John, fourth Duke of Bedford, K.G. She died in 1811.

royal eyes. We were just an hour going over the principal floor, as they stopped and examined *everything in every room;* and we never sat down during that hour, or, indeed, very little but while we were in the carriages, which fatigued me more than anything else, as I was not at all well at the time. Lord Harcourt told the Duke of Marlborough that he had been full-dressed in a bag and sword every morning since Saturday; but the Duke of Marlborough could not follow his example in that, as he had no dress-coat or sword in the country. He desires me to tell you that he had no misgivings. All the apprehensions were on my side. Nobody could do the thing better or more thoroughly than he did."*

On the 31st of October, 1786, died the King's last surviving aunt, the Princess Amelia, whose birth dated as far back as the reign of Queen Anne.† This eccentric lady is principally known to us through the pen of Horace Walpole, who was frequently invited to her loo and commerce parties, and who introduces us to her in more than one graphic passage in his charming Letters. Her contemporaries describe her, not only as having been handsome in her youth, but also, notwithstanding her refusal of the hands of more than one German prince, as having been no stranger to the tender passion. She is said to have carried on a flirtation with the celebrated minister, Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle; but Charles Fitzroy, second Duke of Richmond, a grandson of Charles the Second, seems to have been the person who inspired her with the strongest attachment. Not only were they in the habit of hunting together three times a week, but the Princess, on one occasion, gave great offence to her mother, Queen Caroline, by retiring with the Duke from the hunting-field

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. i. p. 387.

† Amelia Sophia Eleonora, second daughter of King George the Second, was born at the palace of Herenhausen, in Hanover, on the 30th of May, 1711.

to a private house in Windsor Forest, where they remained quite long enough to afford ground for scandal

Later in life, the Princess seems to have half unsexed herself by the masculine tastes which she had imbibed, and the strange attire which she wore There is at Hardwicke in Derbyshire a portrait of her, in a round hat and laced coat, which it is difficult to believe could have been intended for a woman Her great nephew, George the Fourth, when Prince of Wales, used to relate a rather amusing anecdote at his aunt's expense One cold day, he said, he was driving with Lord Clermont in the neighbourhood of Bagshot, when the singular appearance of the Irish Earl, who was wrapped up in a white greatcoat and a kind of flannel hood over his head, so nearly resembled that of the Princess, that he was occasionally mistaken for her by persons whom they met on the road More than once the Prince declared that he overheard the remark—"What a kind young man the Prince must be to be so attentive to his deaf old aunt!"

The Princess in her youth had been passionately fond of the pleasures of the field, so much so that a great part of her time is said to have been passed in her stables, more especially when any of her horses happened to be ill Another of her weaknesses was high play at cards, a propensity which had rendered her especially obnoxious to the mother of George the Third, who, as Bubb Dodington informs us, complained bitterly of her sister in law playing publicly, and for high stakes, in the Rooms at Bath *

A contemporary of the Princess writes from Bath on the 17th of September, 1752—"Her Royal Highness is very affable and civil, comes to the Room at noon lately, and sometimes at nights, and plays at cards there, chiefly at commerce She takes all opportunities, when fair, of

* Dodington's Diary pp 161 162 ed. 1784

getting on horseback, and amuses herself almost every day some hours in angling in the river, in a summer-house by the river side in the garden, formerly known by the name of Harrison's Walks, which has two fireplaces in it; and, to secure her against cold, puts on a riding-habit, and a black velvet postilion-cap tied under her chin." *

The King is said to have entertained but little affection or reverence for his eccentric aunt, a fact doubtless chiefly owing to her inquisitiveness into the affairs of others, her love of tittle-tattle, and an offensive habit, which she had acquired, of saying disagreeable things, from which majesty itself scarcely seems to have been exempted. According to her contemporaries, the Princess was garrulous and false without being pleasing, mischievous without motive, and often insolent without provocation. Yet these grave defects were relieved by many amiable qualities. Her charities were munificent; her hospitality befitted her high rank; she was a kind mistress and a steady friend. As she increased in years, she became extremely deaf and shortsighted, yet, according to Walpole, such was the natural quickness of her perception, that she seemed to hear and see better than those whom she conversed with. Her death took place at her house in Cavendish Square,† in the seventy-sixth year of her age.

In the mean time, we find the King taking his wonted laudable interest in promoting the welfare and happiness of his people. Not long before the period of which we are treating, Robert Raikes, the philanthropic printer of Gloucester, had successfully carried out his admirable plan for improving the religious and moral condition of the

* Letter from Mr. Hutton Perkins to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.—*Hardwicke Papers*, vol. ii. p. 472.

† Her residence was the corner house of Cavendish Square and Harley Street. It has since been successively inhabited by Mr. Hope, Mr. Watson Taylor, and Marshal Beresford. On the evening of the 11th of November, the remains of the Princess were interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster.

poor, by means of Sunday schools The King and Queen not only took a deep interest in its success, but Mr Raikes was invited to Windsor, where, in a long interview with her Majesty, he explained the objects which he had in view, and the principles on which he acted It happened that one of his most zealous and active followers in this work of love, was the once celebrated Sarah Trimmer, between whom and the Royal Family some kind of acquaintance already existed She was the daughter of the late ingenious Joshua Kirby, who, from the humble position of a house painter in a village in Suffolk, had raised himself to be an artist of no mean reputation Some of his drawings had the good fortune to attract the attention of the then powerful favourite, Lord Bute, who, to his credit, obtained for him the appointment of Clerk of the Works at Kew Palace, where he had the honour of instructing the Queen in the art of drawing in perspective Kirby at this time was no more,* but his daughter, Mrs Trimmer, was residing at Brentford, on the opposite side of the river to Kew, where she was actively employed in superintending the Sunday and Industrial schools which she had been the principal means of establishing She was easy of access, therefore, to the King and Queen, with the latter of whom she seems to have been more especially in communication 'I have this day,' writes the benevolent lady in her journal, "had Nov
the unexpected honour of attending her Majesty, and had inexpressible pleasure in her sensible, humane, and truly Christian conversation May her pious design of establishing Sunday schools at Windsor be put in execution!" † Again, Mrs Trimmer writes to a friend—'Some time in the last autumn I received a message from the Queen, desiring me to attend her at a certain hour, and I accord-

* It was by Kirby that the great painter Thomas Gainsborough was introduced to George the Third. By the express desire of Gainsborough his remains were subsequently laid by those of his friend in Kew churchyard, where also repose the remains of Zoffani.

† Life of Mrs. Trimmer vol. i. p. 1[illegible]0

ingly waited on her Majesty, who received me with the most condescending kindness, told me she had heard of the success of the schools under my inspection, and, being very anxious for their establishment at Windsor, desired to have information from me on the subject. I was honoured with a conference of two hours. It is impossible to do justice to the charming manner in which the Queen expressed the most benevolent sentiments and the tenderest regard for the happiness of the poor."* The King himself, on one occasion, visited the School of Industry at Brentford, where we find him winning the hearts of the children by his kind and condescending behaviour. "A general joy," writes Mrs. Trimmer, "prevails among the conductors of Sunday schools."†

1787. In January, the following year, the King, under the name of Ralph Robinson, addressed to Arthur Young, the agriculturist, certain letters on practical agriculture and the errors in the prevailing system of farming.‡ In addition to his farms at Windsor, the King had converted a portion of Richmond New Park into arable land; he also held under his own management the whole of the Old or Deer Park at Richmond, and farmed a tract of ground known as Keel's Farm, in the adjoining parish of Mortlake.§ "The ground, like man," said the King, "was never meant to be idle; if it does not produce something useful, it will be overrun with weeds."‖ By degrees, the deep and active interest taken by the King in agricultural improvements produced the most beneficial effects throughout the country, and eventually led to the formation of

* Life of Mrs. Trimmer, pp. 138, 139. † Ibid. pp. 145, 185.

‡ The King's first letter, dated January 1, 1787, and entitled 'On Mr. Duckett's Mode of Cultivation,' will be found in vol. vii. p. 65, of Arthur Young's 'Annals of Agriculture.' The second letter, dated Windsor, March 5, 1787, and containing 'Further Remarks on Mr. Duckett's Mode of Cultivation,' occurs at page 332 of the same volume.

§ Notes and Queries, vol. x. p. 46, first series; vol. v. p. 310, second series.

‖ Quarterly Review, vol. li. p. 232.

the General Board of Agriculture. In the words of the Quarterly Reviewer—"The wise and benevolent example set by the Monarch speedily spread its salutary influence. The spirit of rural improvement, having been engendered and fostered in the royal shades of Windsor, made its way, first to Woburn, then to Holkham and Petworth, whence it gradually penetrated the most distant and secluded corners of the island. The owners and occupiers of land, throughout the country, were effectually roused from the unprofitable lethargy in which they and their predecessors had so long slumbered. They were taught to appreciate the hitherto neglected resources of their paternal domains, and the light, which thus unexpectedly burst upon them, led to improvements more various, more important, and more beneficial to the public, than any change which had taken place in this country during the lapse of the ten previous centuries."*

About this time also we find the King taking an active interest in the benevolent exertions of John Howard to ameliorate the abuses of prison discipline, receiving the philanthropist at a private interview at Windsor, and subsequently heading a subscription for erecting a statue in his honour. This homage to his virtues was modestly declined by Howard, apparently with His Majesty's full approval. "Howard," said the King, "wants no statue. His virtues will live when every statue has crumbled into dust."† Some time afterwards the King showed his respect for literature by knighting the learned Sir John Fenn, now principally known as the editor of the 'Paston Letters.'

The society in which the King principally took a pleasure was that of such men as the erudite and amiable prelates, Hurd and Fisher, Bishops of Worcester and Salis-

* Quarterly Review, vol. xxxvi. p. 4[illegible].
† See also Brown's Memoirs of John Howard, pp. 128, 130, 2nd edition.

bury. Learning and virtue, combined, were certain to meet with kindness and encouragement at his hands. Under his own roof, at Windsor Castle, we find him at this period sociably enjoying the conversation, from time to time, of Sir Joseph Banks, of John Lightfoot, the eminent botanist, and of Jacob Bryant, the learned author of the 'Analysis of Ancient Mythology.' M. Argent was invited to Windsor to explain his scientific experiments; Herschel, to display and expound his wonderful experiments in the heavens; while Mrs. Siddons still continued to charm the royal family with her unrivalled dramatic readings.*

y 20. In the summer of this year we find the King renewing his acquaintance with the amiable Dr. Beattie, the author of 'The Minstrel,' whose existence he had rendered easy by settling on him a pension of two hundred a year. The poet, as he himself informs us, had been induced to visit Windsor for a few days, partly to enjoy the society of some friends, among whom was Mrs. Delany, and partly for the purpose of paying his respects to the King and Queen.† The first time he encountered the King was on the Terrace. His Majesty knew him immediately, received him in the most gracious manner, and detained him for a considerable time in conversation. The next morning, after having attended prayers in the King's private chapel, His Majesty presented him to the Queen, who received him no less graciously—making kind inquiries after his health, and referring to the many years that had passed since they had last conversed together at Kew.‡ The Queen then curtsied slightly, and, followed by the Princess Elizabeth, entered her carriage, which was waiting at the chapel door. "The King," writes Dr. Beattie,

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iii. pp. 123, 130, 147, 325, 338, 424-426; vol. iv. p. 128.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 397. Sir W. Forbes's Life of Beattie, vol. iii. p. 21.

‡ See ante, vol ii. p. 71.

"remained with us some time longer, and talked of various matters, particularly the union of the colleges.* He asked whether I was for or against it? I told him I was a friend to the union. 'But Lord Kinnoul,' said he, 'is violent against it.' This, by the bye, I did not know before. The King spoke jocularly of my having become fat. 'I remember the time,' said he, 'when you were as lean as Dr. —— there,' pointing to a gentleman who was standing by. 'You look very well,' said his Majesty to me; "and I am convinced you are well, if you would only think so.' Then turning to Dr. Heberden,† who was also standing near, 'Do, Dr. Heberden,' he said, 'convince Dr. Beattie that he is in perfect health.' 'I have been endeavouring, Sir,' replied the doctor, 'to do so.'"‡

A few days afterwards, on the annual occasion of "Election Monday" at Eton, we find the King present at the delivery of the "Speeches" by the scholars of his favourite school. To the Bishop of Worcester he writes on the 29th of July, 1787—"Having heard from Dr. Langford§ that he sets out to-morrow for Worcester, I cannot omit so favourable an opportunity of inquiring after your health. I shall to-morrow attend the speeches at Eton, as I wish from time to time to show a regard for the education of youth, on which most essentially depends my hopes of an advantageous change in the manners of the nation. You may easily imagine that I am not a little anxious for the next week, when Frederick will return, from whom I have great reason to expect much comfort. The accounts of

* The King alluded to a plan, which had been much discussed about this time, of uniting the King's and Marischal Colleges of Old and New Aberdeen. A petition to the King in favour of the union had been signed by all the dignitaries of Marischal College, while, on the other hand, it was opposed by the Principal and six of the Professors of King's College.—See *Forbes's Life of Beattie*, vol. ii. pp. 387 *et seq.*

† Dr. William Heberden, the distinguished physician. Much of the last part of his life was passed at Windsor, where he died, May 17, 1801.

‡ Sir W. Forbes's Life of Beattie, vol. iii. pp. 21-23.

§ William Langford, D.D., Lower Master of Eton School from 1775 to 1802, Canon of Windsor, and Vicar of Isleworth. He died in 1814.

the three at Gottingen are very favourable. The youngest* has written to me to express a wish to be publicly examined by the two curators of that university, on the commemoration in September, when it will have subsisted fifty years. I have taken the hint, and have directed all three to be examined on that solemn occasion."†

Exactly ten years had passed since the King had listened, in the Eton school-room, to the early eloquence of the Marquis Wellesley, then Lord Mornington,‡ and now it was his fortune to listen to the first oratorical efforts of George Canning. "The speeches," writes the authoress of 'Evelina,' who was present, "were chiefly in Greek and Latin, but concluded with three or four in English. Some were pronounced extremely well, especially those spoken by the chief composers of the 'Microcosm,' Canning and Smith."§ Another scholar, who acquitted himself well on the occasion, was a son of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Moore. "Charles," writes the Primate to Mr. Eden, "is said to have spoken well. It was part of

* H.R.H. the late Duke of Cambridge.

† Bentley's Miscel., vol. xxvi. pp. 335-6.

‡ Lord Wellesley, as has been already related (vol. ii. p. 288), delivered Lord Strafford's speech at his trial, and this with such pathos as to draw tears from the eyes of the King. Lord Wellesley used to mention that after the speeches he was taken by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cornwallis, to Lambeth Palace, where he was to pass his holidays. On their way to London they called upon David Garrick, at his villa at Hampton. "Your Lordship," said the great actor to Lord Wellesley, "has done what I could never accomplish—made the King weep." "That," replied Lord Wellesley, with admirable quickness, "is because you never spoke before him in the character of a fallen favourite."—*From private information.*

§ Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iii. p. 413. Canning was the editor of the 'Microcosm,' a once famous periodical, in which John Hookham Frere, and a few others of his schoolfellows, were his fellow-labourers. The "Smith" whose name is coupled with that of Canning by Miss Burney was apparently Robert Percy Smith, familiarly known in our own time as "Bobus Smith"—the "Bobus always merry and always kind"—the "Long live Bobus!"—of Sir James Mackintosh's Diaries. This accomplished scholar and charming companion, who was the elder brother of the Rev. Sydney Smith, after nine years' service as Advocate-General of Bengal, returned to England, and sat in Parliament successively as member for Tralee, Grantham, and Lincoln. Miss Burney writes, in November, 1786—"I read once more, in the morning, to the Queen, a paper of the 'Microcosm,' which I forget whether I have mentioned. It is a periodical imitation of other periodical papers, and written by a set of Eton scholars. It has great merit for such youthful composers."—*Diary and Letters,* vol. iii. p. 236.

one of Tully's orations against Antony. I have heard much praise from the King, and a fair portion from others."*

The Queen's birthday, in the preceding year, had been solemnized at St. James's Palace with the usual rejoicings. Yet, pleasant as it was to behold her Majesty surrounded by her blooming and beautiful daughters, the scene was saddened in the eyes of many, by the absence of the handsome face and showy form of the heir to the throne. The Prince had indeed written to congratulate his mother on the occasion, but the prodigal son was still estranged from the hearth of his parents. The Queen, though she retained her accustomed composure, seems to have severely felt his absence. She had been fonder and prouder of him than of any of her other children, and consequently his continued misconduct, and alienation from his family, had occasioned her the deepest distress. Miss Burney, for instance, mentions an occasion of the Queen's visible emotion on reading a paper in the 'Tatler' descriptive of a young man, of naturally warm affections and sweet disposition, being hurried into a career of dissipation, which in his soberer moments filled his mind with remorse. "All the mother," writes Miss Burney, "was in her voice while she read it, and her glistening eyes told the application made throughout."†

Happily not many months from this time, the Queen's heart was gladdened by a reconciliation taking place between her husband and son. The Prince's return to obedience, however, appears to have been somewhat expensively purchased by the King's consenting to settle on him an additional 10,000*l.* a year out of the Civil List, and also authorising an application being made to Parliament to discharge his debts; the Prince, on his part, pledging his "fullest

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. i. p. 431.
† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iii. p. 201.

assurances" to the House of Commons that his future expenses should be confined within his income.*

The Prince's liabilities, it should be mentioned, amounted to 193,648*l*., a considerable sum, at this time, for a youth of twenty-four to have incurred, yet trifling when compared with the enormous disbursements which, despite the guarantee now given by him to Parliament, his extravagances subsequently entailed upon the country. At all events, peace and unity were for the present restored to the Royal Family. On the 25th of May, an interview of three hours' duration took place at Buckingham House between the King and the Prince, at the close of which the former conducted his apparently contrite son to the presence of his mother and sisters. "I am told," writes General Cunninghame to Mr. Eden, "the Prince is resolved never again to quarrel with his father. Yesterday the Drawing-room was fine, and crowded as a Birthday. The Prince's household all kissed hands. The Queen and Princesses seemed delighted, and the King very cheerful."† Three weeks afterwards, we find the Prince the
une 17. King's companion in his evening walk on the Terrace at Windsor, where, by their frequently and familiarly joining in conversation, they afforded public and pleasing evidence of the reconciliation which had taken place.‡

If anything, at this time, was wanting to complete the King's satisfaction, it was the expected return from Germany, after a long absence, of his favourite son, the Duke of York, now in his twenty-fourth year. "This day three weeks," writes the Duke to Sir Robert Keith on the 1st of July, "I shall set off upon my return home. It is not necessary, I am sure, to express to you how impatient I am to return, as it is near seven long years since I left

* Royal Message, 21st May; Annual Register for 1787, pp. 129, 130.
† Auckland Correspondence, vol. i. p. 426.
‡ Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iii. p. 380.

England * All the Duke's contemporaries speak of him at this period as a warm hearted, manly, unaffected, and unsophisticated youth His affections, unlike those of his brilliant brother, had not as yet been deadened by a daily intercourse with the profligate and the selfish We are not surprised, then, at the ardent satisfaction which was depicted in his countenance when as Miss Burney describes him he bounded joyously from his carriage at the old Aug 2
porch in the Quadrangle at Windsor Castle, eager to embrace his mother and sisters, and to grasp by the hand the partial father by whom he was almost idolized There were, indeed, grave persons under the royal roof, who whispered their apprehensions that evil communications were calculated to corrupt good manners, and that, ere long, the pernicious example of the heir to the throne might possibly undermine the amiable qualities of his frank and open hearted brother † For a season however, all was rejoicing and congratulation in the King's palace The Queen, carefully as she had tutored herself to conceal her emotions, betrayed, on the Duke's arrival, touching evidences of a mother's gratitude and joy The Princesses are described as having been "in one universal rapture But it was the exuberance of delight, manifested by the King on embracing his long absent son, which made the deepest impression upon those who were witnesses of their meeting According to the excellent Mr Smelt, who had been the Duke's sub governor — "He never could forget the day when the King brought the Duke of York to see him after his arrival from Germany It was not pleasure that beamed in the King's eye, it was *ecstacy* ‡ On the evening of the day on which the Duke arrived at Windsor, we find the King taking a pardonable pleasure and pride in

* Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir R. M. Keith K.B. vol. ii. p 198.
† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters vol. iii. pp. 416 418, 420 430.
‡ Quarterly Review vol. cv p. 490.

parading his manly son upon the crowded Terrace. "It was indeed an affecting sight," writes Miss Burney, "to view the general content. But that of the King went to my very heart. So delighted he looked; so proud of his son; so benevolently pleased that every one should witness his satisfaction. The Terrace was very full. All Windsor and its neighbourhood poured in upon it to see the Prince, whose whole demeanour seemed promising to merit his flattering reception; gay, yet grateful; modest, yet unembarrassed."*

A redeeming feature in the character of the Prince of Wales was his early friendship and affection for his brother Frederick. Accordingly, the news of the Duke's arrival no sooner reached him at Brighton, than he sent off excuses to the Princesse de Lamballe, and a brilliant party who were engaged to sup with him, and, having travelled during the remainder of the night, arrived at Windsor at eight o'clock in the morning. The King had formerly loved his eldest son almost as much as he loved the Duke,† and consequently it must have been a source of double gratification to him to be able to entertain, at the same time and under the same roof, the son to whom he had been so recently reconciled, and the son from whom he had so long been separated. Miss Burney describes him as having been in a constant "transport of delight." There never, said the Princess Augusta, had been so happy a dinner since the world was created.‡ Two birthdays followed—that of the Prince of Wales on the 12th of August, and of

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iii. p. 416. The Archbishop of Canterbury was disappointed in the personal appearance of the newly-arrived Duke. To Mr. Eden he writes on the 15th of August—"The Duke of York does not come up to the expectations I had formed, in his personal appearance. It is like that of any other young officer you meet, neither *l'air noble* nor *militaire*. He stoops much, which I never saw in a German officer before; and therefore I wonder, because he has been living with German officers."—*Auckland Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 434.

† Quarterly Review, vol. cv. p. 480.

‡ Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iii. pp. 417-419.

the Duke of York on the 16th—both of which were of course celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings

In the mean time, we find the venerable Mrs Delany, whose days were now calmly drawing towards a close, continuing to receive from the King and Queen the most gratifying proofs of their affection and respect She has "the great privilege and happiness," she writes, "of spending three or four evenings a week at the Queen's Lodge," indeed, so domesticated had she become with the Royal Family, that, on an occasion of the Court quitting Windsor for London, though only for three days, she describes herself as feeling "desolate" "The King and Queen," writes one of her old friends, "and all the younger branches, increase in affection and respect to Mrs Delany She breakfasted with them yesterday, and the King always makes her lean upon his arm" She herself bears frequent and grateful testimony to the great kindness of the Royal Family "If I had strength of spirits," she writes, "to communicate to you the unremitting honours and favours I have received from my royal friends, it would be a mutual gratification to us both, but that I do not feel myself equal to" And again she writes—"I do not know how to particularise the condescending goodness which I daily experience, and it is a matter of real astonishment to me, so unqualified as I am and under the load of years and some infirmities, that I should receive so many unremitting marks of favour But, the truth is, the love of giving comfort and bestowing happiness seems to predominate in the hearts of my royal friends"*

About this period occurred a somewhat amusing incident connected with one of the King's unannounced visits to Mrs Delany Apparently finding the drawing-room untenanted, he knocked at the door of an apartment in which were a beautiful young niece of Mrs Delany and

* Mrs. Delany's Letters to Mrs. Hamilton, pp. 84 87, 88 91 97, 102.

another female. "Who is there?" was the inquiry from within. "*It is me*," replied the King. "Then," said the young lady, "*Me* may stay where he is." Again the King knocked. Again the young lady inquired who it was. Again the reply was "*It is me.*" "Then," she said, "*Me* is impertinent, and may go about his business." Still the King continued to knock, when the other person in the room advised the young lady to open the door, and *see* who it could possibly be. To her dismay and astonishment she discovered it was the King. All she could exclaim was—"What *shall* I say?" "Say nothing," said the good-natured monarch; "you were very right to be cautious as to whom you admitted."*

The following further trifling anecdote is related of the King at this period. Lady Cecilia Leeson, daughter of the Earl of Miltown, was reported to have accepted the addresses of Mr. David Latouche, an Irish gentleman, whom she afterwards married. The King, in the course of conversation with the young lady, put some questions to her on the subject, and, amongst others, asked her when she had last heard from her lover. "Well, now," was the brusque reply, "what's that to you?"—"Probably," writes Storer to Mr. Eden, then ambassador to Spain, "she had not lived in a Court so much as you are doing now."†

Mrs. Delany died, without the slightest struggle or suffering, on the 15th of April, 1788, in the eighty-ninth year of her age. "Alas!" writes Hannah More to her sister, "Mrs. Delany is dead. She was perfectly sensible, holding a gentleman by the hand, and telling him how full her life had been of blessings, and that what she had to look forward to was still inexpressibly happier than all she had already enjoyed."‡ The last name which she men-

* Lady Llanover's Memoirs of Mrs. Delany, vol. iii. p. 440. Second Series.
† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 235, 236.
‡ Memoirs of Hannah More, vol. ii. p. 110.

tioned to Miss Burney, on the night of her death, was that of the King * To His Majesty she gratefully bequeathed a picture of Grapes, by Michael Angelo Caravaggio, and to the Queen a box, containing a miniature of the late Duchess of Portland, and some of her Grace's hair in a cipher The King showed his regard for Mrs Delany's memory by providing for her faithful attendant, Anne Astley, who tended her to the last †

The following further extracts from the King's letters are selected as displaying the steady and wise interest which he continued to take in the affairs of Church and State

The King to Mr Pitt

(*Extract*) WINDSOR, *July 3rd* 1786

"I return the letters from Mendiola, and approve the disclaiming in the strongest manner all idea of interfering in the discontents of the inhabitants of the Spanish settlements in South America As I have ever thought the conduct of France in North America unjustifiable, I certainly can never copy so faithless an example" ‡

The King to Mr Pitt

"MR PITT, *January 22nd* 1787

"By your note, which met me as I was riding to town, I find the Bishop of Peterborough declines the Deanery of St Paul's, and that this has made you renew your application for Dr Pretyman I see you have it so much at heart, that I cannot let my reason guide me against my inclination to oblige you. I therefore consent to his having this Deanery with the Bishopric of Lincoln, though I am confident it will be, by all but those concerned thought very unreasonable, and I should fear will serve a precedent to the like applications. While desires increase the means of satisfying people have been much diminished"

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"*October 12th*, 1787.

"I cannot return to the Secretary of State's office the very material papers, on the plans of France with regard to India, without sending Mr. Pitt a few lines. I should hope he will acquaint the Cabinet to-morrow that I am forming four regiments for that service, and that he will push on a negotiation with M. Boers to make the two Companies understand one another, and take efficient measures to secure us against our insidious neighbours. Perhaps no part of the change in Holland is so material to this country as the gaining that Republic as an ally in India. I recommend that no time should be lost in bringing this to bear, and our Company ought to be liberal in its offers to effect it."*

The following letter from the King has reference to a narrow escape from defeat, which Ministers experienced in the House of Commons on the 5th of March, 1788, during the discussions on the "India Declaratory Bill." Pitt had been prevented by sudden indisposition from replying to a very able speech of Fox; the result being that, when the Members came to a division, it was with the magic of Fox's eloquence deeply impressed upon their minds, and with his arguments virtually unanswered. "I think," writes William Grenville to his brother, Lord Buckingham, "this is the most unpleasant thing of the sort that has happened to us:"†—

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"*March 6th*, 1788.

"I have delayed acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Pitt's note, informing me of the Division in the House of Commons this morning, lest he might have been disturbed when it would have been highly inconvenient. It is amazing how, on a subject that could be reduced into so small a compass, the House would hear such long speaking. The object of Opposition was evidently to oblige the old and infirm members to give up the attendance,

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. i. p. xxii., Appendix.

† Buckingham Papers, vol. i. pp. 358, 359.

which is reason sufficient for the friends of Government to speak merely to the point in future, and try to shorten debates, and bring, if possible, the present bad mode of mechanical oratory into discredit' *

The fact is, that the illness of the Prime Minister was occasioned by a debauch, in which he had been induced to indulge on the preceding night "On last Wednesday'— writes Lord Bulkeley to the Marquis of Buckingham on the 10th—"Mr Pitt experienced a mortification, not only from the abilities of those who oppose him, but from the defection of some of his friends, and the lukewarmness of others, that he has not experienced since he has been a Minister It was an awkward day for him, and he felt it the more because he himself was low spirited and over come by the heat of the House, in consequence of having got drunk the night before at your house, in Pall Mall, with Mr Dundas and the Duchess of Gordon † They must have had a hard bout of it, for even Dundas, who is well used to the bottle, was affected by it, and spoke remarkable ill, tedious, and dull The Opposition there fore made the most of their advantages, and raked Pitt, fore and aft, in such a manner as evidently made an impress on him I heard from our own friends that no Minister ever cut a more pitiful figure' ‡ Pitt, however, two days afterwards, amply recovered the ground which he had lost, by making "one of the best and most masterly speeches" he ever delivered §

The King to the Countess Howe

'QUEEN'S HOUSE, *May 8th* 1783, [illegible]

"I have delivered the letter to the Queen, and explain[illegible] the mistake by which it had been opened, but cannot pretend [illegible]

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol i. p. xx ii. Appendix.

† Lord Temple's house in Pall Mall, now forming a portion of [illegible] was at this time let on hire to Alexander Duke of Gordon, whose [illegible] duchess was the lady mentioned in the text.—*Buckingham Papers* [illegible]

‡ Buckingham Papers vol. i. pp. 300 301.

any eloquence of mine was necessary to convince the Queen that no disrespect was meant by Lord Howe; for we both think we know him too well ever to harbour such an idea, even where appearances could give room for doubt. Indeed, honesty is the best policy; and, where uniformity of conduct is to be found, that gives due reason to guess at the motives of action.

"GEORGE R."*

* MS. Original.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Conduct of the Prince of Wales—His evil influence on the Duke of York—Society at Brighton under the auspices of the Prince—Approach of the King's mental malady—His visit to Cheltenham—Excursions—The Duke of York's flying visit—The King's visits to Hartlebury, Worcester, and Matson—Return to Windsor—The King's approaching insanity first suspected by Mrs. Siddons—His altered manner at the levee—His desire to conceal his sufferings—Progress of the disease—*Attacked with delirium—Distress of the Queen—Fears of the physicians*—Captain Payne's account of the King's condition—The King's sudden appearance among the Princes and others in an adjoining apartment—Alarm of the party—Conduct of Colonel Digby.

NOTWITHSTANDING the promises of amendment which had been made by the Prince of Wales at the time of his reconciliation to his father, and the good resolutions which at that time he possibly, in all sincerity, formed, it seems to have been little more than ten months before he relapsed into his former habits of extravagant dissipation and political hostility to his father. In March, 1788, for instance, we find him obstructing Mr. Pitt during the progress of the India Declaratory Bill through the House of Commons, and, in July following, interfering in the Westminster election.* On the first of these occasions it was under no very creditable circumstances. The East India Company having petitioned against the Bill, Erskine was heard as their counsel at the Bar of the Commons. He had spoken with little effect for nearly three hours, when he became so indisposed as to be compelled to defer the delivery of the remainder of his speech till a later hour. He was well enough, however, to dine in the coffee-room of the House of Commons with the Prince of Wales, who, it

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 223.

is said, "primed" him with brandy, with apparently no other object than that of inciting him to run riot against the Government. "Erskine," writes Lord Mornington to the Marquis of Buckingham, "spoke for near two hours, and delivered the most stupid, gross, and indecent libel against Pitt that ever was imagined. The abuse was so monstrous that the House hissed him." Pitt, according to Lord Mornington, took no notice of Erskine's "Billingsgate." *

But if the conduct of the Prince of Wales was a source of distress to the King, how much more afflicted must he have been at the altered behaviour of his beloved son, the Duke of York! Those who had augured that the better principles of the young Prince would yield to the malign example of others, had unfortunately proved only too correct in their predictions. Scarcely had he been four months in England when we find Storer writing to Mr. Eden, that the Duke's amours had been "numerous hitherto;" at the same time accurately foretelling that before the end of the winter he would entangle himself with "*une habitude*."† This anticipated *habitude* proved to be the Countess of Tyrconnel, whose visits we subsequently find Mrs. Fitzherbert declining to receive, on the ground of her being a lady of "contaminate" character—thus very nearly occasioning a "fracas" between the Prince of Wales and his brother.‡ So far, great excuse is to be made for the Duke on the score of his youth, and the contagious immorality of the age; observing that even his sober and phlegmatic uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, notoriously had his *habitude*, in the person of a very beautiful woman, Lady Almeria Carpenter, Lady of the Bedchamber to his Duchess.§ But, in other respects, the conduct of the Duke

* Buckingham Papers, vol. i. pp. 356, 357.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. i. p. 456.

‡ Buckingham Papers, vol. i. pp. 390, 391.

§ We have the direct authority of the Duchess's uncle, Horace Walpole, for the

of York was calculated greatly to grieve and alarm his indulgent father. "I am told," writes Lord Bulkeley to Lord Buckingham, "that the King and Queen begin now to feel

"How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
To have a thankless child!"*

"The Duke of York," writes Lord Bulkeley on another occasion, "in politics talks both ways, and, I think, will end in opposition. His conduct is as bad as possible. He plays very deep, and loses; and his company is thought *mauvais ton.*" Even the Prince of Wales, though his own *ton* was certainly not of the most refined order, is said to have denounced his brother's style as "too bad."† "The Prince of Wales," writes William Grenville to Lord Buckingham, "has taken this year very much to play, and has gone so far as to win or lose 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* in a night. He is now, together with the Duke of York, forming a new club at Weltzie's; and this will probably be the scene of some of the highest gaming which has been seen in town."‡

From the pen of General Grenville—who had attended the Duke of York during his sojourn in Germany, and who for several years remained at the head of his Royal Highness's establishment—we glean some further particulars respecting the proceedings of the royal brothers. For instance, on the 20th of December, 1787, he writes to Lord Cornwallis—"We are totally guided by [the Prince of Wales], and thoroughly initiated into all the extravagances and debaucheries of this most *virtuous* metropolis. Our visits to Windsor are less frequent, and, I am afraid,

fact that his beautiful niece was subjected to this indignity.—*Walpole's Letters*, vol. ix. p. 47, ed. 1859. See also the *Auckland Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 436: and *Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 192.

* Buckingham Papers, vol. i. p. 363. † Ibid.

‡ Ibid. pp. 363, 364. Weltzie's Club stood on the west side of St. James's Street, on the site (1866) of Fenton's Hotel. Weltzie, the proprietor, had been house-steward to the Prince of Wales.

will at last be totally given up."* So also General Grant writes to Lord Cornwallis, April 6, 1788: "At the Irish Club we have been honoured with the presence of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, who are reciprocally obliged to one another. The Prince has taught the Duke to *drink* in the most liberal and copious way; and the Duke, in return, has been equally successful in teaching his brother to lose his money at all sorts of play—quinze, hazard, &c.—to the amount, as we are told, of very large sums in favour of India General Smith and Admiral Pigot, who both wanted it very much. These play-parties have chiefly taken place at a new club, formed this winter by the Prince of Wales, in opposition to Brooks's, because Tarleton and Jack Payne, proposed by his Royal Highness, were black-balled."† Nevertheless, General Grenville was not altogether without hope that his royal charge might yet be weaned from his evil courses. Four days after the date of General Grant's letter to Lord Cornwallis, he writes to that nobleman—"I am sorry to say that we still go on at a most furious rate; and I cannot but lament most sincerely certain parts of our conduct, which I hope we shall correct before it is too late. That very strong passion for gaming, which I always foresaw would be the rock which we should most likely split upon, has broke out with all the violence I apprehended; and the too frequent opportunities which offer for indulging it fill me with the most serious apprehensions. What a pity it is, that with such excellent parts, and with a disposition calculated to make everybody about him happy and contented, he should be so led away by his passions as to lose the finest game that ever presented itself to a person of his rank and situation. I do not, however, by any means despair."‡

* Cornwallis Correspondence, vol. i. p. 348. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 362.
‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 367.

Notwithstanding the salutary influence which Mrs. Fitzherbert was supposed to exercise over the mind of the heir to the throne, the Prince's favourite marine residence, Brighton, appears to have been no less notable as the scene of his irregularities than either Carlton House or the Clubs in the neighbourhood of St. James's. The following, for instance, is a picture of the Steyne, as it presented itself to Storer in the autumn of 1788. "It seemed as if all the gayest and the prettiest women in England, *of a certain class*, had come to market on the Steyne. Authorised by the royal example, everybody thought himself at liberty to do as the Prince himself did. Every votary at Mrs. Weston's court thought herself as good, in some respects, as the lady who seemed to hold the first rank in the place. It was curious to observe, at the playhouse, the climax of immorality, from the lowest to the first, ranged round the boxes. But nothing was so singular here as to see our friend Lord Brudenell* in so new a point of view. He was living with all these fair nymphs in the easiest manner. How far his virtue was in danger I will not pretend to say; but if Cato could not trust himself at Baiæ, I should think his Lordship runs some risk at Brighthelmstone. He is now no longer called his Honour, but the familiar appellation of *Cockie* is substituted in its stead."† Nearly at this time we find the Prince attending a prize-fight at Brighton, at which one of the combatants was killed by the other. For a long time past, in fact, his habits, and the kind of company which enjoyed his favour, seem to have rendered the place uninhabitable by the respectable portion of the community. "The Heir Apparent," writes the Duke of Dorset, in October,

* James Lord Brudenell, afterwards fifth Earl of Cardigan, Keeper of the Privy Purse to George the Third. He was born on the 10th of April, 1725, and consequently was at this period in his sixty-fourth year. He married, first, in 1760, Anna, sister of William, second Earl of Dartmouth; and, secondly, in 1791, Elizabeth, sister of George, fourth Earl of Waldegrave. He died February 24, 1811.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 235.

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* Cornwallis Correspondence, vol. i. p. 383.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 382.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 387.

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† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 235.

1786, "is still at Brighton, and drives the whole world away."*

To what extent the misconduct of the sons of George the Third may have occasioned or aggravated the terrible mental malady by which, soon after this period, he was afflicted, it would of course be very difficult to determine. Up to the summer of 1788 he had for many years been blessed with uninterrupted good health. "The King," writes Storer on the 18th of January, "walks twelve miles on his way from Windsor to London, which is more than the Prince of Wales can do *à l'heure qui est.*"† Early in June, however, the King complained of symptoms which were manifestly premonitory of the great infliction which was impending over him, and which induced his physicians to recommend him to try the effect of the Cheltenham waters. In the following letter—addressed to the friend whom the King probably most venerated in the world—he communicates the double fact of his illness and of his approaching visit to Gloucestershire :—

The King to the Bishop of Worcester.

"My good Lord, "Windsor, *June 8th,* 1788.

"Having had rather a smart bilious attack, which, by the goodness of Divine Providence, is quite removed, Sir George Baker‡ has strongly recommended to me the going for a month to Cheltenham, as he thinks that water efficacious on such occasions, and that an absence from London will keep me free from certain fatigues that attend long audiences. I shall therefore go there on Saturday.

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. i. p. 393. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 463.

‡ Physician in Ordinary to the King, and Physician to the Queen. In 1776 he was created a Baronet, and in 1797 was elected President of the College of Physicians. He was a fine classical scholar, and exemplary in all the relations of private life. Gray paid him the high compliment of dedicating to him his 'Elegy written in a Country Churchyard.' "No man," writes Nichols, "perhaps ever followed the career of physic, and the elegant paths of the Greek or Roman Muses, for the space of several years, with more success than Sir George Baker, the proofs of which may be seen in his published and unpublished works, the splendour of his fortune, the esteem, respect, and admiration of his contemporaries."—*Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century,* vol. iii. pp. 70, 71. His death took place on the 15th of June, 1809.

"I am certain you know the regard that both the Queen and I have for you, and that it will be peculiarly agreeable to us to see you at Hartlebury.* I shall certainly omit the waters some morning to undertake so charming a party; but that you may know the whole of my schemes, besides getting that day a breakfast there, I mean to remind you that feeding the hungry is among the Christian duties, and that therefore, when I shall visit the Cathedral, on the day of the sermon for the benefit of the children of the clergy of the three choirs, (which Dr. Langford, as one of the stewards, will get advanced to Wednesday the 6th of August, as I shall return on the 10th to Windsor), I shall hope to have a little cold meat at your palace before I return to Cheltenham on Friday the 8th.

"I shall also come to the performance of the 'Messiah,' and shall hope to have the same hospitable assistance. Both days I shall come to the Episcopal Palace sufficiently early, that I may from thence be in the cathedral, by the time appointed for the performances in the church. The post waits for my letter. I therefore can only add, that I ever remain, with true regard, and I may say affection,

"My good Lord,
"Truly your good friend,
"GEORGE R.†

"TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER,
Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire."

On the 12th of July the Court quitted Windsor for Cheltenham, the King, in every town and village through which he passed, receiving the most gratifying proofs of the affection and loyalty of his subjects. The residence which had been provided for him was Bays' Hill Lodge, a seat of the Earl of Fauconberg, about a quarter of a mile from Cheltenham, charmingly situated amidst beautifully variegated uplands, with the hills of Malvern rising in the distance. The house, however, was so inconveniently small, and consequently so deficient in the accommodation

* Hartlebury Castle, the palace of the See of Worcester.
† Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. 337.

suitable to a Court, that the royal suite was necessarily restricted to a very limited number, the King being the only male person who slept in the Lodge. Nevertheless, so secure did he feel himself in the midst of his subjects, that by his express orders not a soldier was allowed to be quartered within ten miles of Cheltenham.* "The Queen," writes Storer, "will dine with her Equerries, though at first coming into this country German etiquette prevented her from sitting at her table with much greater personages than either Mr. Digby or Mr. Gwynn. The latter of these two gentlemen likes a good dinner, which, however, he is not in the way of getting the whole time he remains at Cheltenham. His Majesty, sitting a very little time at table and eating very sparingly, hinders the poor Equerry, who is helped last, from taking the quantity of food necessary to appease his appetite."†

During his stay at Cheltenham the King drank the waters at six o'clock every morning, after which he paraded the "Walks" like any ordinary visitor in search of pleasure or health. As was his practice on the Terrace at Windsor, he usually walked with the Queen leaning on his arm, their fine daughters accompanying them, and the courtiers following behind. At first the King seems to have experienced a good deal of inconvenience from the crowds of persons who flocked to the "Walks;" but so long as he beheld his subjects pleased, by being able to display their loyalty or gratify their curiosity, the goodnatured monarch made no complaint. "For two or three days," he observed to the Queen, "we must walk about to please these good people, and then we may walk about to please ourselves."‡

During the King's stay at Cheltenham he made various excursions to objects of interest in the neighbourhood. On

* George III., His Court and Family, vol. ii. p. 90.
† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 225.
‡ George III., His Court and Family, vol. ii. p. 89.

the 19th of July, he visited Oakley Grove, the seat of Earl Bathurst, consecrated by the genius of Pope, Prior, Bolingbroke, and Atterbury. On the 21st he was conducted through the abbey church of Tewkesbury, rich with romantic associations of the Middle Ages. At Gloucester he was received in state by Bishop Halifax and the Dean and Chapter, and has himself recorded his admiration of their "truly beautiful" cathedral. On the 26th he visited Croome Court, the seat of the Earl of Coventry, and wandered among the flower-beds of the beautiful Countess Maria of Mason's verse. But the event which evidently gratified him the most during his sojourn at Cheltenham, was a flying visit paid him by the Duke of York. Reprehensible as the Duke's conduct had recently been, the King's forgiving heart still yearned for the society of the best-beloved of all his sons, and accordingly we find him affectionately making preparations for his comfort during his expected visit. In a residence so small that the King was reduced to be its sole male inhabitant, there was, of course, no accommodation for the Duke of York, and consequently, in order to secure for himself as much as possible the company of his beloved son during his brief sojourn at Cheltenham, the King, at a considerable cost of labour and money, caused a portable wooden house to be removed from the further end of Cheltenham to the pleasure-grounds of Bays' Hill Lodge, to be used as the temporary abode of the Duke and his attendants. Miss Burney, who witnessed his arrival, describes the King's joy as scarcely less excessive than that which he had exhibited when, a year previously, she had seen the Duke arrive at Windsor, after his long absence in Germany.* The volatile young Prince, however, could be persuaded to remain no longer than a single night at Cheltenham. Military business, he declared, required his

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 212.

attendance on the following day, *Sunday;* but, in order to be able to spend a second evening with his parents, he would travel, he said, all night. "I wonder," observed the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain, Colonel Digby, "how these Princes, who are thus forced to steal even their travelling from their sleep, find time to say their prayers!"*

On the 2nd of August the King, notwithstanding Hartlebury Castle was thirty-three miles distant, set out on his promised visit to his old friend and favourite, Bishop Hurd. A few days previously, he had written to the Bishop—" The cathedral [at Gloucester] is truly beautiful. I am to attend Divine Service there on Sunday. To-morrow is the visit to Croome, which enables me to fix on Saturday, the 2nd of August, for visiting Hartlebury Castle, where any arrangements for the 6th at Worcester may be explained. All here are well, and insisted on seeing yesterday the room Dr. Hurd used to inhabit at Gloucester. The Bishop was obliged to explain Lord Mansfield's prediction on the mitre over the chimney. Had they always been so properly bestowed, the dignity of the Church would have prevented the multitude of sectaries."†

The King's visit to Hartlebury evidently afforded great satisfaction to the learned and excellent Bishop. "Their Majesties," he writes, "after seeing the house, breakfasted in the library, and, when they had reposed themselves some time, walked into the garden and took several turns on the terraces, especially the Green Terrace in the Chapel Garden. Here they showed themselves to an immense crowd of people, who flocked in from the neighbourhood, and, standing on the rising grounds in the Park, saw and were seen to great advantage. The day being extremely bright,

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 214.
† Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. 338.

the show was agreeable and striking."* Colonel Digby, who was one of the royal party, told Miss Burney that, accustomed as he was to witness such scenes, yet the loyal joy and respect evinced by the vast crowd on this occasion affected him more sensibly than he could have imagined.†

On the 5th of August the King visited Worcester for the purpose of attending a grand meeting of the choirs of Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester, held for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the clergy of those dioceses. He remained at Worcester till the 9th, during which interval the Court resided at the Bishop's palace in that city. "The concourse of people of all ranks," writes the Bishop, "was immense and the joy universal: the weather was uncommonly fine."‡ Miss Burney has recorded "the huzza that seemed to vibrate through the whole town, as the royal carriage drew up at the Bishop's palace."§ It cannot be doubted that the King was sensitively alive to the affectionate and enthusiastic welcome with which he was everywhere greeted by his people. More than once, in after years, he was heard to refer to his visit to Cheltenham, and to speak of the happy hours which he had passed in his Gloucestershire tour as more than making amends for the political solicitudes of the past.‖

In so reflecting a mind as that of George the Third, the various scenes which he visited in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire must have given rise to many interesting considerations. He had traversed a district richly associated with memories of the alternate sovereignties of the Roman, the Dane, the Saxon, and the Norman. At Cirencester he had passed over immemorial roadways, once overlooked by the battlements, the prætorium, and the

* Bishop Hurd's Autobiography; Works, vol. i. p. xvi.

[illegible]

amphitheatre of the Roman. In the sylvan recesses of Oakley Grove he had stood on the spot where his predecessor, Alfred the Great, had signed his memorable treaty with Gothrum the Dane. In the cathedral at Gloucester he might have been reminded of the occasional fate of kings, as he lingered near the exquisite sepulchral monument of the murdered Edward the Second. At Worcester he had gazed on the not less noble effigy of King John, where the Norman monarch, by his own wish, sleeps near the holy Saxon father, St. Wolstan. In the Abbey Church of Tewkesbury his eye must have wandered from the last resting-place of the slaughtered heir of the House of Lancaster, to that of the perjured Prince who "stabbed him in the field by Tewkesbury." The rich and tranquil districts over which he journeyed, had formerly trembled beneath the tread of steel-clad men, and been the scene of many a bloody struggle for a Crown. Here the Red Rose had contended with the White, and there the Roundhead with the Cavalier. Everywhere reflections on the vanity of human wishes, and on the mutability of human affairs, must have presented themselves to the mind of the royal traveller. In passing Tewkesbury he had skirted the gory field which had witnessed the triumph of Edward of York, the flight of the ill-fated Margaret of Anjou, and the slaughter of her beloved son. At Worcester he had skirted the scene of the no less memorable triumph of Oliver Cromwell. Yet here, in this very city—in the very streets through which Cromwell's Ironsides had dashed after the flying heir of the house of Stuart—the constitutional King of a free people, unattended, even by a single constable, was to be seen quietly making his way through vast masses of loyal and cheering people, who respectfully opened an avenue for him as he passed. The fact is a remarkable one, that the King's only *cicerone* through the city of Worcester was a member of the House

of Cromwell—thus presenting the curious incident of a descendant of the great Protector pointing out to a sovereign of the House of Guelph the spot on which the gallant Duke of Hamilton fell in defence of the doctrine of the Divine right of Kings, and the grave, by the steps of the high altar in the cathedral, in which the noble cavalier sleeps his last!

Among other scenes of minor historical interest, which the King visited during his progress, was Matson, the seat of George Selwyn, in the neighbourhood of Gloucester "Mr Selwyn," writes Horace Walpole to Lady Ossory, "I do not doubt is superlatively happy I am curious to know what relics he has gleaned from the royal visit, that he can *bottle* up and place in his *sanctum sanctorum*"* Matson, it may be mentioned, formed the head quarters of Charles the First during the siege of Gloucester, at which time his two eldest sons, afterwards successively Charles the Second and James the Second, cut their names with their penknives in one of the apartments, traces of which were still visible at the time when George the Third visited Matson

On the 16th of August the Court returned to Windsor, the King having been apparently restored to his usual good health Before two months, however, had elapsed, it began to be rumoured that he had suffered a relapse He had for some short time, as we learn from the pages of Miss Burney, been slightly indisposed, when, on the 16th of October, after having walked for four hours in the wet, he was imprudent enough to remain for a considerable time at St James's Palace without changing his stockings On the following day he was attacked by spasms in the stomach, and, though the complaint abated for a time, he was so ill on the night of the 19th as to cause great alarm to the royal household at Kew † "The King," writes a well

* Walpole's Letters, vol. ix p. 140.

† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters vol. iv p. [illegible] Journals of the House of Lords, vol. xxxviii. p. [illegible] Buckingham Papers vol. i. p. [illegible]

informed contemporary, "came into the Equerries' room, where he found Generals Budé and Goldsworthy; and, opening his waistcoat, he showed them two large spots on his breast. They both advised him to be careful not to catch cold, as the consequence would probably be a dangerous repelling of the eruption. The King, as usual, rejected this advice, with some degree of ill-humour. He rode in the Park; came home very wet; the spots disappeared; a slight fever first ensued, and soon after, the mental derangement."*

It may be mentioned, as rather a remarkable fact, that the first person, not connected with the Royal Family, who seems to have entertained a suspicion that insanity was creeping over the King, was Mrs. Siddons. During a visit which she paid to Windsor Castle at this time, the King, without any apparent motive, placed in her hands a sheet of paper—blank, with the exception of his signature—an incident which struck her as so unaccountable, that she immediately carried it to the Queen, who gratefully thanked her for her discretion.† Yet it is not till the 22nd that we find the painful truth forcing itself upon the convictions of Sir George Baker,‡ who very properly communicated his fears to the Ministry. In the mean time the King had named an early day for holding a levee—a ceremony, the fatigue and excitement of which he was obviously scarcely equal to undergo. So desirous, however, were the Ministers to avoid creating any unnecessary alarm in the public mind, and, moreover, so anxious was the King himself to keep his ailment a secret from his subjects, that it was determined he should appear at St. James's on the appointed day.§ He was resolved, as

* MS. Diary of Colonel Henry Norton Willis, Comptroller of the Household to the Princess Charlotte of Wales, and afterwards Chairman of the Board of Green Cloth.

† Campbell's Life of Mrs. Siddons, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129.

‡ Journals of the House of Lords, vol. xxxviii. p. 272-3.

§ Buckingham Papers, vol. i. p. 429.

he wrote to Mr Pitt, to make an effort, in order "to stop further lies, and any fall of the stocks" "I am certainly weak and stiff," he adds, "but no wonder I am certain air and relaxation are the quickest restoratives'* In a letter marked "most secret," Lord Grenville writes to Lord Buckingham that Ministers were putting "as good a face" as they could upon the King's illness †

At the levee the King's altered manner and mode of talking could scarcely fail to elicit much uneasy observation Mr Pitt, in particular, is said to have been greatly struck by the painful change, as were also the Duke of Leeds and the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, both of whom, after the levee was over, were admitted to the royal closet Some well intended advice, addressed to him by the Chancellor—intimating how ill the King looked, and how advisable it was that he should return to Windsor and take care of himself—elicited from him some excited expressions which could scarcely have failed to apprise the two lords of the true nature of his disorder "You, too, then, my Lord Thurlow," he said, "forsake me, and suppose me ill beyond recovery, but, whatever you and Mr Pitt may think and feel, I, *that am born a gentleman*, shall never lay my head on my last pillow in peace and quiet *so long as I remember the loss of my American Colonies*'‡ One of the ailments of which the King complained, and on which his physicians subsequently laid stress in their evidence before Parliament, was, to use his own words, a "bodily stiffness" Yet, only very recently, during an interview with Mr Pitt at Kew, he had stood, and had kept his Minister standing, for no less a time than three hours and forty minutes § Lord Stanhope has pointed Oct 2

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii., Appendix p. iv

† Buckingham Papers, vol ii. p. 428

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv p. ?1 — "I had this fact" writes Lord Malmesbury "from the Duke of Leeds, who was present."

§ Diaries &c. of the Right Hon. George Rose vol. i. p. 86.

out, as a peculiarity of this reign, that as a general custom, probably assignable to German etiquette, the King, in his interviews with his Ministers, neither asked them to sit down, nor sat down himself.

Notwithstanding the fatigues and excitement of the levee, the King, on the following day, was well enough to remove with his family from Kew to Windsor. Still he was evidently very seriously ill both in mind and body.
25. Miss Burney, who was accidentally thrown into his company, describes him as having all the appearance of being in a high fever. His manner, indeed, was gracious almost to kindness; but on the other hand, the hoarseness of his voice, the volubility of his language, and the vehemence of his gestures, startled her beyond measure.* The next day, when on her way from the Queen's apartment, she again encountered him, when, during a conversation about his health which lasted nearly half an hour, the agitation of his manner and the rapidity of his utterance were no less painful, although in other respects he was kind and gentle to a degree that made it affecting to listen to him. Ill as he was, all his care seemed to have been to conceal his sufferings from, and to allay the anxiety of, others.† Possibly, had he courted the perfect repose which was prescribed by his physicians, the progress of his disorder might have been arrested, but unfortunately they found him a refractory patient. For instance, on Wednesday, the 29th of October, we find him no fewer than five hours on horseback; on the 1st of November he went out hunting, and on the 3rd he was again five hours on horseback.‡ To Mr. Pitt, indeed, he writes on the 3rd that "he eats well, sleeps well, and is not in the least now fatigued with riding, though he cannot yet stand long, and is fatigued if

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 273. † Ibid.

‡ Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 275. Moore's *Life of Sheridan*, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.

he walks, * yet, favourable as is this account of himself, he was, in fact, in a most alarming state For instance, while conversing with the Duke of York after his return from one of his rides, he betrayed how completely his nerves were unbraced by bursting into tears "He wished to God, he exclaimed, ' he might die, for he was going to be mad † His voice by this time had grown painfully hoarse, in consequence of incessant talking, while so weak had he become in his limbs as to require support when he walked "My dear Effy,' he said to an old favourite, Lady Effingham, "you see me all at once an old man' ‡ When Miss Burney again conversed with him, on the 2nd, he told her he wanted more rest, yet, almost in the same breath, he added that he had slept the previous night like a child At the same time, nothing could exceed his kindness and gentleness His chief anxiety seemed to centre in one amiable object, that of sparing the feelings of the Queen by concealing from her, as much as possible, the extent and nature of his sufferings "The Queen is my physician,' he said, alluding to her giving him his medicine, "and no man need have a better she is my *friend*, and no man *can* have a better" Notwithstanding his bodily debility, he still insisted upon escorting her at night to the door of her dressing room With regard to the Queen herself, her affliction was not the less poignant that she was forced to make every effort to conceal it from her husband and her attendants Miss Burney more than once mentions having surprised her in tears On the 3rd she writes—"The Queen is almost overpowered with some secret terror I am affected beyond all expression in her presence, to see what struggles she makes to support

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. pp. v vi. Appendix.
† [illegible]
‡ [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] distress. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] his [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] his father had been so [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] burst into tears.* Some years afterwards [illegible] [illegible] Prince describing the scene at Lord [illegible] [illegible] told us," writes Colonel Willis, [illegible] was present [illegible] [illegible] King was first seized with his mental disorder [illegible] [illegible] Majesty caught him with both his hands [illegible] [illegible] pushing him against the wall with some [illegible] [illegible] asked him who would dare [illegible] [illegible] the King [illegible] that he should not speak out, or who should [illegible] [illegible] whispering. The King then whispers [illegible] [illegible] Mr. Burney entering [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] her [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] "How [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] one of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] latter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] probably [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] King and Queen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] only on [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Queen [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] room [illegible] [illegible] her [illegible] [illegible] could [illegible] prevailed [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Painful, indeed, was the Queen's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The King might at any moment [illegible] [illegible] violent and [illegible] the precaution of [illegible] filling the royal pages in the neighbouring [illegible] [illegible] room, no means of restraint were at hand.†

By candlelight, at six o'clock on the following morning, Miss Burney wended her way through a thick November fog to the Queen's apartment, where she found her royal mistress sitting up in bed, wan and colourless as death.

* The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Lord [illegible] [illegible] on the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

† [illegible] [illegible]

‡ Madame D'Arblay's Diary [illegible] [illegible]

one to which one cannot look without horror—that of a continuance of the present derangement of his faculties, without any other effect upon his health."* Another, and not unimportant, person who arrived at the Castle in the course of the day, was the once well-known Comptroller of the Prince's Household, Captain Payne,† from whose pen we gather some fuller particulars as to the King's unhappy state. "The Duke of York, who is now looking over me," he writes to Sheridan, "and who is just come from the King's room, bids me add that His Majesty's situation is every moment becoming worse. His pulse is weaker and weaker, and the Doctors say it is impossible to survive it long, if his situation does not take some *extraordinary* change in a few hours."—"Since this letter was begun, all articulation even seems to be at an end with the poor King; but, for the two hours preceding, he was in a most determined frenzy."‡ Late on one of those nights, when the Bishop of Lincoln called upon Pitt, he found him in momentary expectation of the arrival of a messenger from Windsor with the tidings of the King's death.§ "I am this instant returned from Windsor," writes Mr. Neville to Lord Buckingham, "and find from the best authority that the King's life is unfortunately despaired of. Warren, Heberden, Baker, and Reynolds, are attending. I believe the fever has settled on the brain, as there is much delirium. The Chancellor was at Windsor, and all the Princes of the Blood are sitting up in the next room to him. The Queen has had fits, but is better to-day."‖

The night of the 6th was even more "affectingly

* Buckingham Papers, vol. i. p. 433.

† Captain John Willett Payne, R.N., Comptroller of the Household to the Prince of Wales, died a Rear-Admiral of the Red, on the 17th of November, 1803, at the age of fifty-one. He sat in Parliament as member for the borough of Huntingdon from May 1787 to 1796.

‡ Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. pp. 22, 23. 3rd Edition.

§ Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. 363. 3rd Edition.

‖ Buckingham Papers, vol i. p. 437.

dreadful" than the preceding one. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the physicians and equerries, were reposing, some on sofas, and others seated on chairs, in an apartment close to the King's, when to their alarm and astonishment, he suddenly appeared amongst them. His amazement at finding himself in the midst of so unusual an assemblage was as great as theirs, and accordingly he eagerly inquired of them what they were doing there. The Princes of the Blood, owing to the stars which they wore on their breasts, ought to have been conspicuous above the others, but, in consequence of the apartment being very dimly lighted, the King failed to recognise them. From some touching words, however, which escaped him, it was manifest that one of them at least was uppermost in his heart. Frederick, he said, was his favourite—his friend. "Yes," he said, "Frederick *is* my friend." In the mean time, no one present dared approach or remonstrate with the sick monarch. Even Sir George Baker, though it was his duty, as those who were near him whispered him, to lead back the King to his bedchamber, declined making the attempt. As it proved, however, he gained but little by his timidity. The King, having recognised him, suddenly laid hold of him and fastened him against the wall, telling him that he had mistaken his complaint, which was only nervousness, and that he was nothing more nor less than an old woman. Colonel Digby, the Queen's Chamberlain, now considered it his duty to interfere, and accordingly, telling the King in a tone of respectful authority that he must go to bed, he took him by the arm and endeavoured to lead him towards his apartment.* "I will not go," cried the King; "who are

* The Hon. Stephen Digby—the charming and accomplished "Mr. Fairly" of Madame D'Arblay's 'Diaries'—was son of William, fifth Baron Digby. On the 2nd of June, 1774, he was promoted to be a colonel in the army, and, in 1788, was appointed by Queen Charlotte Master of St. Katherine's Hospital, the only preferment, we believe, in the gift of the Queen Consort or Queen Dowager of England.

you?' "I am Colonel Digby, Sir," he answered "your Majesty has been very good to me often, and now I am going to be very good to you, for you must come to bed It is necessary to your life" So entirely was the King taken by surprise, that, as the Prince of Wales told the Queen the next day, he allowed himself to be led to his bedchamber as passively as if he had been a child *

Of the first stages of the King's illness, some further interesting particulars were afterwards related by the Prince of Wales to Colonel Willis at Carlton House "On His Majesty's first attack," said the Prince, "he complained of a heaviness in his head, which was relieved by bleeding In this short lived interval he locked up all his papers, jewels, &c, except his watch and the Queen's picture, which he kept by his bed side He told Ernst† that it was probable that he should never again rise from his bed, and desired that Mr Best should be sent for to make a new will By a former will, said the Prince, he had left his personal property to him, as he had told him in the presence of the Queen and most of his brothers and sisters, but it was believed that this new one was to be wholly in favour of the Queen Mr Best, however, did not arrive till his Majesty's intellects were totally deranged One of the King's amusements, in this sad state, was looking over a Court Calendar, and marking persons' names whom he meant to dismiss from their offices On his demanding a new Calendar for the year, Ernst had the address to obtain the old one from him, and threw it into the fire'‡

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters vol. iv pp. 299 300
† The King's German Page of the Back Stairs see *post* pp. 86 87, 88 89
‡ Willis MS Original.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Excitement in London occasioned by the King's illness—The King's great popularity—Joy of the Opposition—Proceedings of the Prince of Wales—"Jack Payne" and the Duchess of Gordon—Cruel treatment of the Queen—Garrulity a feature of the King's disorder—Fluctuations in his malady—Distressing condition of the Queen—Disinterested conduct of Mr. Pitt—Sudden return of Mr. Fox from Italy—Annoyances awaiting him—Sheridan's supremacy with the Prince—Negotiations with Thurlow—Wedderburn's disappointment—Thurlow betrays Pitt's Regency-plan to the Prince—His interviews with the Prince and the chiefs of the Opposition—Details of the "Plan of Regency"—The Queen's fears—Wedderburn's unconstitutional advice to the Prince.

In the mean time, the imminent danger to which the King's life was exposed, as well as the dreadful and mysterious nature of his malady, had gradually become known to the public. Grief and consternation prevailed in almost all quarters. When Sir Nathaniel Wraxall returned to London at this time, he found the capital a scene of such excitement as he had never previously witnessed, and which, till the arrival, four years afterwards, of the news of the decapitation of Louis the Sixteenth, it was not his fortune to see surpassed.* To Lord Bulkeley Lord Buckingham writes on the 11th of November, that the Stocks have already fallen two per cent.; adding, that the alarms of the people of London are very little flattering to the Prince.† "You may easily believe," writes Lord Sydney on the 13th, "that the hurry and ferment are great at present. People in general, of all ranks, seem to be truly sensible of the calamitous effects to be dreaded from an unfavourable termination of His Majesty's disorder."‡ The fact is a remarkable one, as affording evidence of the

* Posthumous Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 178. † Buckingham Papers, vol. i. p. 445.
‡ Ibid. p. 447.

King's universal popularity, that [illegible] prayers were offered up for him in the [illegible] of the [illegible] and in the synagogues of the Jews, before the Privy Council had approved of the form of prayer which was to be offered up for him in the churches and chapels of the Church of England.* So universally, too, flowed public sympathy in favour of the afflicted monarch, that the King's physicians began to receive anonymous letters, threatening them with condign punishment in the event of his illness proving fatal. Sir George Baker was stopped in his carriage by the populace and menaced with personal violence. So high, indeed, ran the tide of loyalty and affection, that Sir Lucas Pepys, who by this time had been added to the number of royal physicians, told Miss Burney that in the event of the King dying, he believed that none of their lives would be safe.†

At Brookes's Club alone, while elsewhere all was pity and consternation, undisguised satisfaction prevailed. The Opposition, whose prospects had recently appeared so hopeless, were now sanguine that their hour of triumph was at hand. Whether the excellent King died, or whether he sank into a confirmed lunatic, was apparently of little interest to the fashionable scions of the "great Whig families," so long as the Prince, whether as Regent or King, should be invested with the dispensation of regal powers and of regal patronage. "You may naturally," writes William Grenville, "conceive the exultation, not wearing even the appearance of disguise, which there is in one party, and the depression of those who belong to the other."‡ And again he writes—"In the midst of all this confusion, and while his sons and brothers are struggling to gain entire possession of his authority, the King may recover his reason! What a scene will present itself to

* Buckingham Papers, vol. i. pp. 417, 418.
† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. pp. [illegible]
‡ Buckingham Papers, vol. i. p. 432.

adds, "after such an unmerited—wanton affront—who could ask him?"*

Another proceeding of the Prince, in the exercise of his new functions, was the taking possession of his father's papers, an act which gave much offence to the Queen at the time, and which, after the King's recovery, the Prince was obliged to explain to him in an apologetic letter, which is still extant.† As the Prince, however, if his explanation be correct, not only consulted the Lord Chancellor on the subject, but placed his father's effects in the hands of the proper officers of the Crown, the anger of his parents may have been occasioned rather by the general heartlessness which marked his conduct at this time, than by the single act in question, which, after all, may have been well-intentioned. Certainly his behaviour during the period of his father's prostration was marked at times by the most lamentable want of taste and proper feeling. For instance, a lady who was evidently well informed of what was passing in the higher circles of society, relates the following particulars in a letter to a friend, on the authority of Lady Mount Edgecumbe, who herself received them from the Duchess of Gordon.—"A few days ago Mrs. Richard Walpole gave a supper to the two Princes, Mrs. Fitzherbert, Colonel Fullarton, Jack Payne—who is such a favourite he is to be a Lord of the Admiralty, and leans on the Prince as he walks, not the Prince on him—Miss Vanneck,‡ and a few others. The Duchess of Gordon

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. pp. 300, 303, 304. It is but fair to add that some time afterwards the Prince apologized to his old sub-governor on meeting him at Kew.

† Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. ii. p. 303.—The King's private effects would seem to have been of considerable value. Horace Walpole, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, dated the 1[illegible]th of February following, speaks of the "discovery of the King's vast private hoard" (*Letters*, vol. ix. p. 16[illegible]), and the Prince's letter to his father tends to the same inference. "The situation," he writes, "of the apartments of Windsor appeared to me by no means secure, and the single sentry which might get abroad of their value seemed to increase the risk." *Memorials of Fox*, vol. i. pp. 311, 312.

‡ Miss Vanneck was a sister of the hostess, Mrs. Richard Walpole. They were daughters of Sir Joshua Vanneck, merchant, of Heveningham Hall, Suffolk.

the only Pittite. The Prince says—'What a fine fellow my brother York is! He never forsakes me. The other day, when we went to look for the King's money, jewels, &c., at Kew, as we opened the drawers my mother looked very uneasy and grew angry. Says York to her, 'Madam, I believe you are as much deranged as the King.' Then says Jack Payne—after a great many invectives against Mr. Pitt—calling him William the Fourth, William the Conqueror, &c.—'Mr. Pitt's chastity will protect the Queen,' which was received by all present as a very good thing.* The Duchess of Gordon—for which you will like her, though a Scotchwoman—declared if they began to abuse the Queen she would leave the room. And now I am in a fright lest I should have told you all this before."† On another occasion of "Jack Payne" venting some ribaldry against the Queen, the Duchess gave him a lesson which he probably never forgot. "You little, insignificant, good-for-nothing upstart—you chattering puppy!" she exclaimed, "how dare you name your royal master's royal mother in that style!"‡

"Filial ingratitude!
Is 't not as this mouth should tear this hand
From lifting food to it?
* * * * * * *
Your old kind father, whose frank heart gave all!—
O that way madness lies! Let me shun that;
No more of that!"—*King Lear*, act 3, scene 4.

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* Alluding, of course, to the well-known jokes against Mr. Pitt, which were current at this period:—

"Sooner Dundas an Indian bride decline;
Sooner shall I my chastity resign."

There are in the 'Political Miscellanies' no fewer than eleven irreverent epigrams on the "Immaculate Continence of the British Scipio."

† Miss Sayer to Miss Huber. This letter was sent to Lord Auckland, then the British Minister at Madrid, to give him "the best information."—*Auckland Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 277 note, 279, 280. Respecting Miss Sayer, see Walpole's Letters, vol. ix. pp. 136, 202.

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The fact of the Prince overhauling his father's papers was unhappily not the only occasion of his unduly intruding himself on the apartments of the sick Monarch "I think," writes Lord Grenville, "of the Prince of Wales introducing Lord Lothian* into the King's room when it was darkened, in order that he might hear his ravings at the time that they were at the worst!" †

> *Prince Henry* I never thought to hear you speak again.
> *King Henry* Thy wish was father Harry to that thought,
> I stay too long by thee I weary thee
> Dost thou so hunger for my empty chair
> That thou wilt needs invest thee with mine honours
> Before thy hour be ripe?"
> *King Henry IV* Part II. act 4 scene 4

So little respect appears to have been shown for the illustrious invalid by his expectant heir, that it was not till five days after he had been seized with delirium—and then only at the instance of Mr Pitt and Lord Sydney—that two Grooms of the Bedchamber were appointed to receive the names of the numerous persons who flocked to the palace, to make anxious inquiries after their Sovereign ‡

In the early stages of the King's malady, order and decency had prevailed at Windsor Castle Ministers, on their part, were desirous of concealing the true nature of the King's indisposition, while the Queen naturally manifested the greatest repugnance to the secrets of her consort's sick chamber becoming the topics of public gossip So successfully, for a time, had secrecy been preserved, that even Miss Burney, notwithstanding the confidential post which she held under the royal roof, appears for some days to have been under the conviction that the King's disorder was of no worse a character than a violent fever With the arrival, however, of the Prince of Wales

* William John fifth Marquis of Lothian, afterwards a general in the army died 4th of January 181[illegible]

† Buckingham Papers vol ii. p. 12.

‡ Ibid. vol ii. p. 41.

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* William John, 6th Marquis of Lothian, afterwards a general in the army; died 4th of January, 1[illegible]1.

† Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 12.   ‡ Ibid., vol. i. p. 44[illegible].

and his friend Captain Payne, the aspect of affairs at Windsor became entirely altered. There are extant, for instance, letters addressed by the latter from Windsor Castle to his friend and boon companion, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, in which the details of the King's disorder—his "gestures and ravings"—his "new noise in imitation of the howling of a dog"—his imagining himself to be in a state of religious inspiration—and an attempt which he made, in his delirium, to fling himself from a window—are related with painful minuteness.* What was much worse, in the circle of fashionable people in which Captain Payne and his royal master moved, the King's terrible disorder was treated as a subject, not for pity and regret, but for ribald merriment. In the card-room at Brooks's, instead of the members saying—"I play the King," it became the cant custom to call out—"I play the lunatic."†

From the suffering monarch, let us turn for a while to his almost equally afflicted consort. From the time when the Queen had ceased to find herself mistress in her husband's palace—from the hour, in fact, when she was no longer the first person to be consulted as to his wants, and no longer the first to be acquainted with any change in his terrible condition—a painful sense of humiliation was added to her other sorrows. The first occasion, on which she was made to feel her altered position, was under circumstances peculiarly cruel. On the day that Dr. Warren had been called in, she had waited in trembling anxiety for the moment of his quitting the King's presence, never doubting that he would pay her the compliment of immediately hastening to her apartment, to communicate to her the opinion which he had formed of the state of his illus-

* Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. pp. 24-29. See also Payne's further letters from Windsor to Lord Loughborough in Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 189 *et seq.*

† Lady Harcourt's Diary; Massey's History of England, vol. iii. p. 389 note.

trious patient "The poor Queen," writes Miss Burney, "in a torrent of tears, prepared herself for seeing him" So long a time, however, was he in making his appearance, that at length the Queen despatched Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave to ascertain the cause of the delay The intelligence which Lady Elizabeth brought back sank deep into the proud heart of the sorrowing Queen Dr Warren, it seems, without having condescended to make the slightest communication, personally or by message, to his royal mistress, had proceeded, with the other physicians, from the Lodge to the Castle, in order to report progress to the profligate young Prince, whose star, to all appearance, was rising so rapidly in the ascendant "I think," writes Miss Burney, "a deeper blow I have never witnessed The tears were now wiped indignation arose, with pain, the severest pain, of every species" Unfortunately, the Queen's affliction was augmented, in the course of the day, by her being constrained, at the instance of the royal physicians, to remove to other apartments at a distance from those of her beloved consort "At the entrance into this new habitation," continues Miss Burney, "the poor, wretched Queen once more gave way to a perfect agony of grief and affliction, while the words—'What will become of me? What will become of me?'—uttered with the most piercing lamentation, struck deep and hard into all our hearts" * But even the sad luxury of being allowed to weep, either alone or in the presence of her daughters, was denied to the unhappy Queen From the joint and trustworthy accounts of Miss Burney and Lord Bulkeley, we glean that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York were not only in the constant habit of "going in and out" of their mother's apartment, hurrying "to and fro everywhere,' but that the abrupt, if not indelicate manner, in which they had accustomed themselves

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters vol iv pp 292, 293

to speak of any change in their father's condition, was calculated to produce a most distressing effect upon the nervous system of the agitated Queen.*

The King in the mean time continued in the most afflicted state. When, on the evening of the 8th of November, Mr. Pitt, after an interview with the royal physicians, returned from Windsor to London, he brought back the disheartening intelligence, that, though the King's life was thought to be in no immediate danger, his mental derangement threatened to be permanent. According to Lord Bulkeley—who paid a three days' visit to Windsor at this time—the King's state was "worse than a thousand deaths."† On the 10th Miss Burney also writes—"This was a most dismal day. The dear and most suffering King was extremely ill. The Queen very wretched."‡ On the 11th the King was somewhat better. His pulse and appetite were not only as good as before his attack, but, in his lucid intervals, he conversed with great composure with the page in attendance on him, especially recurring to a projected visit to the South of France of his sixth son, Augustus, afterwards Duke of Sussex.§

One of the most remarkable features of the King's disorder was his never-ceasing garrulity. Upon one occasion he is said to have talked unceasingly for sixteen hours.‖ As Sir Lucas Pepys and Colonel Digby severally told Miss

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. pp. 294, 297. Buckingham Papers, vol. i. pp. 444, 445.

† Buckingham Papers, vol. i. pp. 440, 441, 443, 444.

‡ Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol iv. p. 309.

§ Buckingham Papers, vol. i. p. 446.

‖ Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 244. Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 6. The following brief extracts from the Diary of Lord Chief Justice Kenyon are not without interest:—"*Nov. 7th.* Dined with the Lord Chancellor, who was just come from the Prince of Wales, who had sent for him to Windsor, on account of the King's alarming state of mind. Had much conversation with the Chancellor as to what was to be done if the illness continued; Regency, &c." "*Nov. 9th.* The Chancellor sent for me again this day, to consult about the public affairs, he having just had a letter from Dr. Warren, *Delirium sine febre.*" "*Nov. 10th.* Breakfasted with Lord Chancellor, who had been yesterday at Windsor by the Prince's desire, and had much conversation with the Prince."—Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 677.

Burney, he talked of "everybody and everything"* Yet, even in his delirium, he maintained a singular control over his ideas, and a watchfulness over his speech, which enabled him to avoid certain delicate subjects on which his mind might have been expected to dwell, and which it was most desirable that he should have self-command enough to avoid It was observed, moreover, by those who attended him in his illness, that, though, in his wanderings, he frequently related personal anecdotes of the dead, he carefully avoided discussing the characters of the living But the most striking features of his painful malady were the never-failing evidences of purity of mind, and goodness of heart, which gleamed through the mist which obscured his intellects It was observed by Colonel Digby, who was constantly for hours with him in his sick chamber, that "the highest panegyric that could be formed of his character would not equal what in those moments showed itself, that, with his heart and mind entirely open, not one wrong idea appeared, that all was benevolence, charity, rectitude, love of his country, and anxiety for its welfare'†

We have the further authority of Colonel Digby, as well as that of Dr Baillie, that the King during his illness "said many acute and reasonable things"—that he showed no sign of failure of intellect—but, on the contrary, that he frequently reflected and reasoned correctly As instances in point, the following anecdotes used to be related by the Master of the Rolls, Sir William Grant The conversation happening one day to turn upon the county of Dorset, the King made some inquiries, by name, respecting several families resident in that county, including the family of the Deputy Judge Advocate "When I go to Hanover," he said, "Mr —— must go with me" Having been asked the

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters vol iv [illegible]
† Quarterly Review [illegible]

reason why—"Because," he replied, "the Deputy Judge-Advocate must be with me, to correspond with the Judge-Advocate, who cannot leave England, and he must have a direct official correspondence with me." This was a fact, it seems, of which no other person present was cognisant but the King.*

The other instance, related by Sir William, is as follows. Among the news of the day, a report of the death of the Marchioness of Buckingham happened to be mentioned in the King's hearing—"I am sorry for it," said the King, "for she was a good woman, though a Roman Catholic." For the Marquis, he expressed much sympathy; observing, *that* if marriage vows were to be dissolved, and Lady Buckingham were still alive, he believed her lord would renew his. "By-the-bye," he added archly, "I do not think many of my friends would do so."†

From the 12th to the 15th of November, the King continued to show some signs of amendment, but on the 16th all was gloom and despair again at Windsor. "The

* Diaries of the Right Hon. George Rose, vol. i. pp. 94, 95. Respecting the importance which the tenderness of the King's conscience led him to attach to the selection of a proper person to fill the important and responsible post of Judge-Advocate, as well as showing the King's intimate knowledge of the qualifications and capacity of even subordinate candidates for civil employment, see *Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 160, 161. "He spoke," writes Rose, "of them [the duties of the office] as important; said that a deputy should be appointed; that the situation of the principal should be very respectably filled; alluded to the case of the Court Martial sitting on some officers of the Bedfordshire Militia, where the Court, from the ignorance of their Judge-Advocate, had got into a most awkward scrape. He then mentioned the candidates for the employment: Mr. Reeves, the law-clerk of the Privy Council, supported by the Chancellor, but unfit for the situation from his impracticability, his temper, and his idleness; Mr. Lewis, late Under-Secretary at War, supported by a set about the Duke of York, his only recommendation being his having the honour to be brother-in-law to General Brownrigge, not educated to the profession of the law; and Mr. Watson, a person altogether unknown, and so little esteemed in the Volunteer corps to which he belongs, that the officers of it would not allow him to succeed to the Majority on a vacancy. His Majesty then returned to the importance of the office, and added that he felt, personally, a strong anxiety that it should be well and respectably filled, as, in truth, he frequently decided matters of a very nice and delicate nature on the opinion of the Judge-Advocate, in discussions with him; putting, therefore, his conscience, to a certain extent, into his hands."—*Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 160, 161.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 95.

King," writes Miss Burney, "was worse. His night had been very bad; he had now some symptoms even dangerous to his life. O, good Heaven! what a day did this prove! I saw not a human face, save at dinner; and then what faces! Gloom and despair in all, and silence to every species of intelligence!" Similarly distressing was the night of the 19th. "Sir Charles Hawkins came," proceeds Miss Burney. "He had sat up. O, how terrible a narrative did he drily give of the night! Short, abrupt, peremptorily bad, and indubitably hopeless. I did not dare alter, but I greatly softened, this relation, in giving it to my poor Queen."* This day Dr. Warren told Mr. Pitt that there was now every reason to believe that the King's disorder was no other than direct lunacy.† It was the vehement demand of the afflicted Monarch, at this time, to be allowed to see his daughters; but this was a request which his physicians deemed it their imperative duty to refuse.

From the 20th to the 28th no important change seems to have taken place in the condition of the royal invalid. "The King," said Colonel Digby on the 23rd, "was very ill indeed, and so little aware of his own condition, that he would submit to no rule, and chose to have company with him from morning till night, sending out for the gentlemen one after another, without intermission." It was now thought necessary, for the sake of the King's health, to forbid his equerries attending upon him in his sick chamber.‡

Sad, however, as was the condition of George the Third, that of his Queen continued to be scarcely less distressing. More than three centuries had elapsed since, in the lordly chambers of Windsor, a Queen of England had prayed

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. pp. [illegible]
† [illegible] vol. ii. p. [illegible]
‡ Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. pp. [illegible]

that sanity might be restored to an insane consort. There—in the old time—the desolate but high-spirited Margaret of Anjou had watched, with her infant boy in her lap, by the couch of the "meek usurper," Henry the Sixth; resorting to every means which she could devise—from the orisons of the devout to the love-song of the minstrel—to recover her husband from the terrible lethargy into which he had sunk. But sad as had been the condition of Margaret of Anjou, still more distressing was that of Charlotte of Mecklenburg. Margaret, at all events, had been at the head of a powerful party in the State, but the consort of George the Third was, personally, without a single powerful friend in the kingdom. Her sons, who should have been a protection and a comfort to her, were numbered among their father's enemies. No provision, it would seem, had been made for her younger children.* The Lord Chancellor, who should have been her adviser, was making terms with her adversaries.

Happily, the King and the Royal Family had a staunch and powerful champion in Mr. Pitt, who, whatever might be the consequences to himself, was resolved to guard the interests of his royal master in such a manner that, in the event of his recovering his reason, he should find his affairs as little as possible disarranged, and his kingly authority, at least, unimpaired.† These objects could be attained only by restricting the powers of the Prince

* Buckingham Papers, vol. i. p. 438.

† "The great object to be looked to," writes William Grenville to his brother, the Marquis of Buckingham, on the 9th of November, "seems to be the keeping the Government in such a state as that, if the King's health should be restored, he might be as far as possible enabled to resume it, and to conduct it in such a manner as he might judge best. I suppose there never was a situation in which any set of men ever had, at once, so many points to decide, so essentially affecting their own honour, character, and future situation, their duty to their country in a most critical situation, and their duty to their unhappy master, to whom they are unquestionably bound by ties of gratitude and honour, independent of considerations of public duty towards him. I hope God, who has been pleased to afflict us with this severe and heavy trial, will enable us to go through it honestly, conscientiously, and in a manner not dishonourable to our characters."—*Buckingham Papers*, vol. i. pp. 442, 443.

of Wales, in the event of his becoming Regent, and accordingly, although Pitt had everything to gain by courting the favour of the heir to the throne, and everything to lose by incurring his displeasure—although in the event of his dismissal from office he had apparently no brighter prospect before him than that of returning to his barrister's chambers and his law books—we shall find him defending the cause of the prostrated King with all the disinterestedness and self-devotion with which, under similar circumstances, Sully would have stood by Henry the Fourth of France, or William Bentinck by William the Third of England. True it is that the merchants and bankers of the city of London, aware of his straitened private means, and grateful to him for the services which he had rendered to commerce, had desired to make him independent of the freaks of fortune by presenting him with the splendid gift of 100,000*l.*, but the offer had been unhesitatingly refused. "No consideration upon earth," he told his friend George Rose, "should induce him to accept it."* "Does not Pitt," writes Hannah More to her sister, "fight like a hero for the poor Queen? But who will fight for *him*, for he has not a hundred a year in the world? Like an honest old house steward, going to be turned off, he is anxious to put everything in order, and leave the house in such condition that the next servants may do as little mischief as possible."† "In the midst of all these disquieting circumstances," writes Wilberforce, "my friend is every day matter of fresh and growing admiration. I wish you were as constantly, as I am, witness to that simple and earnest regard for the public welfare by which he is so uniformly actuated. Great as I know is your attachment to him, you would love him more and more."‡

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. pp. 16, 17.
† Memoirs of Hannah More, vol. ii. p. 140.
‡ Letter to the Rev. C. Wyvill. Life of Wilberforce, vol. i. p. 191.

In the mean time, the probability of Pitt proposing in Parliament to impose a restricted Regency on the heir to the throne, had occurred to and alarmed the minds of the Prince and his friends. Unluckily for the Opposition, the Prince's chief adviser, Charles Fox, was absent, at this time, on his way to Italy. The Duke of Dorset* mentions his departure from Paris with Mrs. Armstead on the 15th of August. During the following month we find him at Lausanne. Here he spent a day with Gibbon the historian, which the latter has recorded as one of the pleasantest he ever passed. Emancipated from the frivolities of Brooks's and the tumult of politics, he avoided the latter subject as much as possible; spoke of Pitt "as one great man should speak of another;" discoursed enthusiastically about books, from the 'Iliad' to the 'Arabian Nights;' and, as he wandered with Gibbon among his favourite flower-beds, displayed as much knowledge of botany and gardening as the historian himself possessed.† From Lausanne, Fox continued his journey to Berne and Zurich, intending to extend it as far as Rome. He had proceeded, however, no farther than Bologna, and had scarcely been afforded time to saunter amongst "its stately marble tombs and colonnades," when he was overtaken by a courier, who brought him letters, which decided him upon proceeding homewards. At the top of Mont Cenis he encountered the great heiress, Miss Pulteney, to whom, four months previously, it had been currently believed that he was about to be married,‡ and to whom he was able to com-

* At this time the British Ambassador at Paris.

† Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, pp. 106, 120, 121.—Ed. 1837.

‡ "The marriage of Fox with Miss Pulteney," writes Sir William Young on the 7th of June, "is something more than common talk. At the Duke of York's ball, he sat three hours in a corner with her; attends her weekly to Ranelagh; and is a perfect Philander." *Buckingham Papers*, vol. i. p. 390. Again, Storer writes to Lord Auckland on the 6th:—"What do you think of Mr. Fox going to be married—and to Miss Pulteney? There certainly is so much probability, or at least he fancies so, that he gives himself in spectacle at Ranelagh; hands her about, &c."—"Charles will say to Pitt, like Lothario to Altamont, [in the 'Fair Penitent,'] 'In love I triumphed.'"—

municate the important intelligence of the King's illness. On the 24th of November he reached his lodgings in St. James's Street, having performed a journey of eight hundred miles in nine days, which at the time was thought an extraordinary feat.* In the mean time, the Opposition, according to Lord Bulkeley, had been looking out for him "as the Jews look out for their Messiah."† Parliament, he found, had assembled on the 20th; but, in consequence of the state of the King's health, had been adjourned till the 4th of December.‡

Fox, on his return to England, was not only suffering from ill health, but had the mortification to find himself beset with difficulties of all kinds. Dissensions and divisions had sprung up amongst his political friends. To his great annoyance, Sheridan had not only grown into such high favour with the heir to the throne as to be popularly styled his "Prime Minister," but, on the plea of bailiffs having taken possession of his house, was about to become the guest of Mrs. Fitzherbert, thus securing for himself frequent and unrestricted private intercourse with the Prince. "Sheridan"—writes the Archbishop of Canterbury—"is, on all hands, understood to be the prime favourite, and is so sensible of it as modestly to pretend to a Cabinet-place." By his "silly vanity," according to

Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii p 212 Miss Pulteney, afterwards successively *created Baroness and Countess of Bath, married General Sir James Murray, Bart*, and died without leaving issue in 1808

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii pp 246, 259.

† Buckingham Papers, vol ii p 15

‡ During the short time that Fox was at Berne, he happened to fall in with the celebrated Lavater, from whose note book Sir Ralph Payne was afterwards allowed to extract the following curious memoranda —

"*Front*—Inépuisable, plus de richesse d'idées et d'images que je n'ai jamais vu sur aucune physionomie au monde

"*Sourcils*—Superbes, regnants, dominants

"*Nez*—Médiocre

"*Les Yeux*—Remplis de génie, perçans, fascinants, magiques.

"*Les Joues*—Sensuels.

"*Bouche*—Pleine d'une volubilité surprenante et agréable; et le bas du visage doux, affable, sociable."—*Memoirs of Sir Robert M. Keith*, vol. ii p. 200 note

William Grenville, and by his "eagerness to display his personal importance," he had given such offence to his party during Fox's absence, that the Duke of Portland had declared his determination not to sit in the same Cabinet with him.* Another source of great annoyance to Fox, was an intention expressed by Rolle, Member for Devonshire, to demand further explanation from him in the House of Commons on the delicate subject of the Prince of Wales's marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert. "Fox"—writes a contemporary—"besides ill health, is plagued to death all day long; dissatisfied with Mr. Sheridan's supremacy, and not choosing to be questioned by Mr. Rolle, who vows he will, in spite of threats and opposition, *approfondir* that matter."†

But the circumstance which, most of all, offended Fox, was the fact of Sheridan and Payne having persuaded the Prince to allow them to enter into a secret negotiation with Thurlow, by the articles of which, the surly and intriguing Chancellor was, on condition of his forsaking the cause of the King for that of the Prince, to be permitted, in the event of the Whigs turning out the present Government, to retain his seat on the woolsack. Fox not only personally and heartily disliked Thurlow, but, unfortunately, the Great Seal had been almost promised to Wedderburn by the Whigs, and accordingly, important as it was to secure the powerful alliance of Thurlow, Fox could not but feel that his own good faith, and that of his party, were compromised by the agreement which had been entered into during

* Buckingham Papers, vol. i. p. 451. Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 267.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 279. On the 13th of December Sir William Young writes to the Marquis of Buckingham—"Rolle and Sheridan had a whispering conference under the gallery for some minutes; the result of which Sir J. Scott, Solicitor-General, with whom I dined, said he understood to be firmness on the part of Rolle in his intention at a proper time to come forward."—*Buckingham Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 58, 59. William Grenville also subsequently writes to the Marquis—"Fox is gone to Bath. Whether he is very ill, as some say, or wants to shirk the discussion about Mrs. Fitzherbert, as others assert, I know not."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 97.

his absence. The negotiation, however, had been carried too far to admit of its being broken off, and consequently Fox had no other choice but to put the best face on the matter that he could, and to devise the safest means of conducting a secret correspondence with his new ally. "You know," we find him writing to Mr. Adam, "I have a kind *of horror of negotiations with Thurlow*, whatever favourable appearances they have."* To Sheridan he also writes —"I have swallowed the pill—*a most* bitter one it was— and have written to Lord Loughborough, whose answer, of course, must be consent. What is to be done next? Should the Prince himself, you or I, or Warren, be the person to speak to the Chancellor?" And he adds—"I do not remember ever feeling so uneasy about any political thing I ever did in my life."† That Fox wrote from his heart is evinced by a letter addressed by him at the time to Lord Loughborough, which is still preserved among the Rosslyn MSS. "If you can call here," he writes from his lodgings in St. James's-street, "it would be best; but if you cannot, pray let me have a line, though I know your answer, and the more certain I am of it, the more I feel ashamed. I really feel myself unhinged to a great degree, and till I see you—which I hope will be soon— or hear from you, shall feel very unpleasantly."‡ Fortunately Wedderburn, though suffering bitter disappointment, succumbed to the wishes of his party with a much better grace than might have been anticipated.

The fact, that Pitt's plan of Regency was no sooner decided upon than it was betrayed to the heir apparent and to his advisers, appears to be as certain as that the traitor in the Ministerial camp was the Lord Chancellor.

* Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. ii. p. 303
† Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. p. 31, 3rd edition.
‡ Life of Lord Loughborough, Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. vi. pp 190 201.

With the exception of Thurlow, the Prime Minister had confided his intentions to no single person but the Groom of the Stole, Lord Weymouth, on whose reticence and fidelity not a breath of suspicion appears to have rested. William Grenville, alluding to the Chancellor, writes to Lord Buckingham—"You will be at no loss to guess where the Prince acquires his knowledge of the plans of Regency which are to be proposed."* Whatever suspicions Pitt may personally have entertained on the subject, they could scarcely have failed to be strengthened by the following accidental occurrence. He was in bed at his official residence in Downing-street, when, at half-past one o'clock in the morning of the 27th of November, he was awoke by a summons from the Chancellor to attend a Cabinet Council, which, by order of the Prince, was to be held on that day at Windsor. As the letter ought properly to have been delivered at half-past nine on the preceding evening, some inquiries were put to the messenger as to the causes of so culpable a delay, and among other questions he was asked whether the Chancellor was still up? "Yes," he innocently replied, "*and Mr. Fox was with him.*" The inference to be deduced from so significant a fact, it was of course impossible to mistake.†

Another incident of a similar condemnatory character, as regards the Chancellor's treason, is reported to have occurred at the close of one of the Cabinet Councils which, at this period, it was found requisite to hold at Windsor. At the close of the discussions, the respective Ministers, with the exception of Thurlow, had been presented with their hats, but that of the Chancellor was nowhere to be discovered. In the midst of the awkwardness and delay consequent on this trifling circumstance, one of the royal pages came running up to the confused Chancellor with

* Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 23.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. i. p. 89.

the lost hat in his hand "My Lord," he said, in the hearing of the other Ministers, "I found it in the closet of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales"* In all probability this was far from having been the only occasion on which the Prince and Thurlow had found opportunities of arranging their plans For instance, after the breaking up of the Council which had been held at Windsor on the 27th, while the other Ministers were on their way to dine and sleep, according to agreement, at Salt Hill, we find the Chancellor making his escape to the Prince's apartments, where refreshments were brought to him and where the Prince, who had himself dined, sat by him during his meal † Such suspicious proceedings could scarcely fail to alarm the Chancellor's colleagues, and accordingly, at another meeting of the Cabinet which took place in Downing street on the 29th, several home questions were put to him, evidently for the purpose of testing his good faith By one it was asked if any one knew whether Mr Fox had yet seen the Prince of Wales, or had held any communication with him? By another, what were Mr Fox's proceedings? The wily lawyer, however, was not to be disconcerted He not only expressed the most perfect ignorance on these subjects, but had the effrontery to inquire in return whether any one present knew the colour of Fox's carriage, or whether any one had seen it on the road to Windsor?‡ Yet, as William Grenville writes on the following day—"*It is unquestionably true that he has* seen Fox, and I believe he has also seen Sheridan repeatedly, and certainly the Prince of Wales, and of all these conversations he has never yet communicated one word to any other member of the Cabinet"§ That the public were

* Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. v p. 5 7 Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt vol. i. p. 307 where the anecdote is related on the high authority of the late Right Hon. Thomas Grenville

† Rose's Diaries vol. i. p. 89 ‡ Ib i. p. 89 90.

§ Buckingham Papers vol. ii. p. 23

not altogether unsuspicious in regard to the nature of the Chancellor's proceedings, is shown by one of the caricatures of the day, which represents him taking off his coat and turning it inside out, exclaiming as he does so—"One side will do as well as another."*

Parliament reassembled on the 4th of December, when Mr. Pitt, in the House of Commons, and Lord Camden, in the House of Lords, severally laid upon the tables of the two Houses the evidence of the royal physicians who, on the preceding day, had been examined before the Privy Council as to the state of the King's health. Generally speaking, their opinions were in favour of ultimate recovery, although, on the other hand, they contemplated so long a period intervening, as to leave Pitt no other option but to bring his "plan of Regency" before Parliament. As regarded the King personally, it was Pitt's recommendation that the care and management of the royal person, as well as the appointments in the royal household, should be vested in the Queen. At the same time, he proposed to confer on the Prince of Wales the office of Regent, with the full power of selecting his own Ministers, but withholding from him, during the King's illness, the privilege of granting peerages except to such of His Majesty's issue as might attain the age of twenty-one, and shackling him with some severe restrictions in regard to alienating the King's property, whether civil or personal, or granting pensions or places in reversion. These limitations, as Mr. Pitt afterwards explained in Parliament, were framed on the contingency of His Majesty's recovery. Should that event unhappily not ensue, it would then, he said, be for Parliament, in its wisdom, to decide on the claims of the heir apparent to be invested with unrestricted kingly powers.

To the Queen the Minister's proposition to invest her with the management of the royal person and household

* Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 222.

must have afforded unqualified satisfaction. Distressing as she well knew that it must prove to the King, in the event of his recovery, to find his favourite Ministers displaced for statesmen who were personally obnoxious to him, yet still more bitter were likely to be his feelings at missing the familiar faces of his affectionate Equerries and Grooms of the Bedchamber—at finding a Colonel Hanger substituted for a Colonel Goldsworthy, and a Jack Payne for a Colonel Digby. Moreover, no one knew better than the Queen that any Act of the Legislature, conferring full regal powers on her eldest son, would be virtually an Act for dethroning her consort. The King himself, indeed, asserted after his restoration to reason, that he should have regarded such a proceeding on the part of the Legislature as equivalent to a statute of lunacy, and have declined to resume the kingly authority. Another consolation, which the Queen derived from being left the mistress of her husband's palaces, were the means which it afforded her of maintaining that order and decorum at his Court which, if the control of the royal household had been allowed to devolve upon his son, could scarcely be expected to remain, for any length of time, either respectable or respected. "The palace," writes Lord Macaulay, "which had now been, during thirty years, the pattern of an English home, would be a public nuisance—a school of profligacy. The drawing-room, from which the frown of the Queen had repelled a whole generation of frail beauties, would now be again what it had been in the days of Barbara Palmer and Louisa de Querouaille."*

> Pluck down my officers, [illegible]
> For now a time is come to [illegible]
> Harry the Fifth is crown'd! [illegible]
> Down, royal state! [illegible]
> And to the [illegible]
> From every region, [illegible]
>
> [illegible]

* [illegible]

In the mean time, there seem to have been scarcely any lengths to which the heir to the throne and his friends were not prepared to resort in order to prevent any restriction of his powers and patronage, in the event of his becoming Regent. Wedderburn, at this time Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, even went so far as to broach a proposition, and recommend a line of policy, apparently almost unparalleled in political hardihood. He not only delivered it as his opinion that, by the incapacity of the King, however brief might be the period of his disability, the sovereign authority devolved *de jure* upon the Prince of Wales independent of the will and sanction of the two Houses of Parliament, but he had also the boldness to advise the Prince to have recourse to a *coup d'état*, by at once claiming and exercising all the powers vested by the Constitution in the kingly office. Ministers, however, had been apprised of what was in contemplation in the Whig camp, and accordingly it was determined, in the event of any attempt being made to carry Wedderburn's proposition into execution, to seize his person on a charge of high treason and commit him to the Tower.*

* See Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. vi. pp. 193-197, ed. 1847; Lord Brougham's Statesmen of the reign of George III., vol. i. p. 178, ed. 1858; and Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. ii. pp. 291-299. Lords Brougham and Campbell are severally of opinion that, had the Prince followed the advice of Loughborough and declared himself Regent, a civil war would have been the consequence. "It was the opinion of the Lord Chief Justice," writes Lord Brougham, "that the Prince of Wales should not have waited for even an address of the two Houses; but, considering them as nonentities while the throne was empty, should at once have proceeded to restore, as it was delicately and daintily termed, the executive branch of the Constitution; in other words, proclaim himself Regent, and issue his orders to the troops and the magistrates, as if his father were naturally dead, and he had succeeded, in the course of nature, to the vacant crown." Lord Loughborough subsequently denied, in the House of Lords, that he had ever given such advice to the Prince of Wales, but sufficient proof to the contrary exists in his handwriting among the Rosslyn MSS.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Contest between Pitt and Fox on the Regency question—Fox's mistake in claiming the Regency for the Prince as a *right*—Sheridan's threat—Thurlow retracts his apostasy, his grand climax—Conduct of the Prince and the Duke of York—Thurlow and Pitt admitted to the King's presence—Removal of the Royal Family from Windsor—Lady Harcourt's account of the cruel treatment of the King at Kew—The [illegible] First Appel [illegible] King's recovery—Changes the [illegible] His religious duties—King [illegible] tions in the King's malady.

The memorable contest in the House of Commons between Pitt and Fox on the subject of the Regency may be said to have commenced on the 10th of December. Wraxall—for many years a curious and intelligent member of the House of Commons—describes the two months which followed as a period of "greater agitation, violence, and animosity," than any other he remembered.* Fox was ill—so ill that, at the assembling of Parliament on the 4th, not only did his altered appearance excite general observation,† but on a very important day, the 8th, he was compelled to absent himself altogether. Nevertheless he prepared to do battle for his party to the last.

The true nature of the impending contest was, by this time, perfectly well understood by all parties in the House of Commons. Accordingly, when Pitt rose to submit that

* Posthumous Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 201.

† "I never," writes Wraxall, "saw Fox, either previously or subsequently, so ill [illegible] or broken [illegible] altered [illegible] aspect. His body seemed to be emaciated, his countenance sallow and sickly, his eyes sunken, while his stockings hung about his legs, and he rather dragged himself along than walked up the floor to take his seat. The alteration, as might be expected, was [illegible] and [illegible]."—*Posthumous Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 1[illegible]

a Committee be appointed for the purpose of searching for precedents, showing the manner in which the sovereign authority had been exercised in former cases of its having been "interrupted by sickness, infancy, or infirmity," Fox at once attacked the proposition as being a direct invasion of what he pronounced to be the legitimate rights of the heir to the throne. For what useful purpose, he asked, did the Minister propose to search for precedents? And what were they going to search for? Not for Parliamentary precedents—not for precedents in the Journals of the House of Commons—but for precedents in the History of England. It was notorious that no such precedent existed. The search, he said, would only occasion delay at a crisis when the exigency of the hour demanded that not a moment should be lost.

Had Fox contented himself with using no stronger language than this, his rival might have missed the signal triumph which he was destined to achieve. Unfortunately, however, he had adopted the unconstitutional opinions of Lord Loughborough, and was unwise enough to deliver them in the House. There was a remedy, he said, immediately at hand. There was a person in the kingdom, an heir apparent, of full age and capacity to exercise the royal power. In his firm opinion, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had as clear and express a *right* to assume the reins of government, and to take upon him the sovereign authority during the continuance of the King's illness, as if His Majesty had suffered a natural demise.* Such language as this not only offended Fox's opponents, but even some of his friends. Pitt saw instantly the advantage which he had gained. Slapping his thigh energetically with his hands, he exclaimed to a friend who sat next him on the Treasury Bench—"I'll *un-Whig* the gentleman for the rest of his

* Fox's Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 400, 401.

life.'* Accordingly, as soon as Fox had sat down, he started on his feet. The doctrine, he said, to which the House had just listened was little less than treason to the Constitution. The heir apparent had no more *right* to the executive power than any other person in the realm. In the case of the incapacity of the sovereign, it belonged to the two remaining branches of the Legislature to make provision for the temporary interregnum. Let every person in the House, he said, consider that upon their future proceedings depended their own interests, as well as the interests and honour of a sovereign deservedly the idol of his people. "Let not the House, therefore," he concluded, "rashly annihilate and annul the authority of Parliament, in which the existence of the Constitution was so intimately involved.' †

The result of the debate was a complete success to the Ministerial party. That night, "at White's, all was hurrah and triumph,'‡ at Brooks's, all was despondency. "Fox's declaration,' writes William Grenville, "has been of no small service to us. Is it not wonderful that such great talents should be conducted with so little judgment? § His friends, too, perceived and lamented the mischief he had done. "Fox's declaration,' writes Lord Sheffield, "seems to have done more harm even than I imagined. ‖ On the 12th, he attempted to explain away much of his language which had given offence, but apparently to very little purpose, Pitt replying to him in one of his most effective speeches. "Pitt," writes Sir William Young from the House of Commons, "rises

* Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. p. 33, 3rd edition.

† Pitt's Speeches, vol. i. pp. 26[illegible] 270, 3rd edition.

‡ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 4[illegible].

§ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 61. "Only think," again writes William Grenville, "of Fox's want of judgment, to bring himself and his friends into such a scrape as he has done, by maintaining a doctrine of higher Tory principle than could have been found anywhere since Sir Robert Sawyer's speeches."—*Ibid.* p. [illegible]

‖ Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 2[illegible]

higher and higher in general estimation. As I passed the gallery to write this, Marquis of Townshend caught my arm and said—'A glorious fellow, by ——, Young! His speech is that of an angel!'"*

It was during the debates on the 12th, that Sheridan was guilty of an indiscretion almost equal to that which Fox had committed. "After Fox's recantation was over," writes William Grenville, "the day was closed by such a blunder of Sheridan's as I never knew any man of the meanest talents guilty of before. During the whole time that I have sat in Parliament, in pretty warm times, I never remember such an uproar as was raised by his threatening us with the danger of provoking the Prince to assert his right, which were the exact words he used."†

Another circumstance favourable to Pitt at this time, was the sudden return of the Lord Chancellor to his allegiance, a step which has been attributed, whether rightly or not, to his having received secret information from one of the royal physicians, Dr. Addington, that a favourable change had taken place in the King's disorder.‡ The first evidence which he exhibited of defection from his new friends occurred during a cautious and trimming speech which he delivered in the House of Lords on the 10th. "The Chancellor," writes Lord Bulkeley, "opened enough of his sentiments to show that he means to stand by his colleagues. His speech was not long, but one of the finest I ever heard, and made so strong an impression that we gave him a merry 'Hear! hear!' which, you know, is not very frequent in the House of Lords."§

But it was on the 15th that the House of Peers witnessed the grand climax of Thurlow's treason and effrontery. On that day, in consequence of its being known that the

* Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 56.
† Ibid. See also Parl. Hist. vol. 27, col. 730.
‡ Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. vi. p. 205.
§ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 52.

Duke of York intended to speak on the Regency question, the Upper House was crowded to excess On the steps of the throne stood three no less celebrated persons than Pitt, Burke, and Wilkes The Duke of York had no sooner concluded his speech, than the Chancellor quitted the Woolsack for the purpose of addressing the House In the most solemn and pathetic manner, and in a state of agitation which continued till a flood of tears came to his relief, he spoke of the great calamity which had befallen the throne and the country It was, he said, his fixed and unalterable determination to stand by his Sovereign, a Sovereign who, during a reign which had now continued for twenty seven years, had ever shown a sacred regard for the principles which had seated the House of Brunswick on the throne of Great Britain As for himself individually, he continued, his grief at the present moment was naturally more poignant than that of others, on account of the personal kindness and indulgence which he had experienced at the hands of his afflicted master "My debt of gratitude," he concluded—and he rolled out, perhaps, the most majestic of those telling sentences with which he had dazzled a generation—"my debt of gratitude is indeed ample for the many favours which have been graciously conferred upon me by His Majesty," and then it was that he delivered that famous peroration—"*When I forget my Sovereign, may my God forget me!*" * Pitt, well acquainted as he was with the facts of the Chancellor's recent perfidies, was naturally thunderstruck at such unblushing effrontery "Oh! the rascal!" escaped his lips—words uttered loud enough to be overheard by General Manners, and probably by others who were standing by † "God forget you?" muttered Wilkes, as he eyed him with his memorable squint—"He'll see you

* Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors vol. v p. [illegible]

† Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs vol. iii. pp 230 [illegible]1

d——d first!" "Forget you?" said Burke; "why, it's the best thing that can happen to you!"*

But if the conduct of the Chancellor, at this time, was discreditable to him, far worse appears to have been the behaviour of the Prince of Wales and of the Duke of York. At the very time when they might have been expected to comport themselves at least with outward decency—at a time when their father lay prostrated by the most awful calamity which can befall human nature, and while the home of their mother and sisters was a home of desolation and sorrow—we find their conduct still marked by that undisguised libertinism, and apparently entire want of proper feeling, which had already occasioned so much grief and alarm to the well-wishers of the House of Brunswick. "The behaviour of the two Princes," writes William Grenville, "is such as to shock every man's feelings." And again he writes to Lord Buckingham—"If we were together, I could tell you some particulars of the Prince of Wales's behaviour towards the King and Queen within these few days, that would make your blood run cold." "The Princes," writes Lord Bulkeley, "go on in their usual style, both keeping open houses, and employing every means in their power to gain proselytes, attending the Beefsteak Club, Freemason Meetings, &c."—"The Duke of York never misses a night at Brooks's, where the hawks pluck his feathers unmercifully, and have reduced him to the vowels I. O. U.† The Prince likewise attends very often, and has taken kindly to play."‡ In one letter of the day "drinking and singing" are mentioned as the "specifics" of the Prince's

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. 10.

† "Only eighteen months had elapsed since the Duke's return from Germany, yet, in a letter dated the 20th of February, 1789, we find the Archbishop of Canterbury representing him to have incurred debts to the amount of not less than 60,000*l.*"—*Auckland Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 290.

‡ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. pp. 36, 68, 98.

sorrow;* while in another he is spoken of as "being very drunk the other night."† Not less indecent than the Prince's unfeeling libertinism was the manner in which, by personal importunity and canvass, he endeavoured to obtain "proselytes," for the purpose of opposing the known wishes and undermining the dormant authority of his helpless parent. "Lord Lonsdale's people," writes William Grenville, "were against us in consequence of a letter written by the Prince of Wales himself, soliciting it as a personal favour." Lord Bulkeley also speaks of the open and undisguised canvasses carried on by the Prince and the Duke of York;‡ and even Fox himself seems to admit that his friend, the Prince, had laid himself open to the charge of "grasping" at too much power.

In the mean time, taking into consideration the deep affection and marked partiality which the King had ever manifested for the Duke of York, the conduct of his Royal Highness would seem to be less defensible even than that of his elder brother. The fact is a painful one to relate that on the 4th of December—the day on which Parliament reassembled, and when the King's malady was at its worst—the graceless youth not only held a meeting of the Opposition at his own house, but afterwards proceeded to the House of Lords, in order to hear the depositions of the royal physicians read, and to listen to the painful details of his father's lunacy.§ *Moreover, the same evening we track* both the brothers to Brooks's, where, in a circle of boon companions as irreverent as themselves, they are said to have been in the habit of indulging in the most shocking indecencies, of which the King's derangement was the topic. On such occasions, we are told, not only did they turn their parents into ridicule, and blab the secrets of

* Buckingham Papers, vol. i. p. 23. † Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 252.
‡ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 82. § Ibid. vol. ii. p. 26.

the chamber of sickness at Windsor, but the Prince even went to such unnatural lengths as to employ his talents for mimicry, in which he was surpassed by few of his contemporaries, in imitating the ravings and gestures of his stricken father. As for the Duke of York, we are assured that "the brutality of the stupid sot disgusted even the most profligate of his associates." *

We must now revert to the afflicted monarch, in whose health, since last we took leave of him on the 28th of November, unhappily no improvement had taken place. The previous night had been passed by him in the most miserable manner. "How woeful, how bitter a day," writes Miss Burney on the 28th, "in every respect was this!"† At a Cabinet Council which had been held at Windsor on the preceding day, it was decided that the Lord Chancellor and the Prime Minister ought to have ocular evidence of the King's condition, and accordingly, so soon as the meeting broke up, they were separately admitted into his apartment. "The Chancellor," writes Miss Burney, "went into his presence with a tremor such as before he had been only accustomed to inspire, and, when he came out, he was so extremely affected by the state in which he saw his royal master and patron, that the tears rolled down his cheeks, and his feet had difficulty to support him." Pitt, though outwardly less agitated than the Chancellor, was apparently not less deeply affected at witnessing the sad condition of his Sovereign.‡ He found the King, as he told his cousin, William Grenville, far better than he had expected, but, nevertheless, evidently in a state of derangement.§ To his friend George Rose, Pitt gave a similar account. The King's manner to him, he said, was uncommonly kind; his visit seemed to give him great

* Massey's History of England, vol. iii. pp. 388, 389.

† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 336.

‡ Ibid. pp. 337, 338.

§ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 22.

pleasure, and though his conversation incessantly wandered from one topic to another, yet it was remarkable that he remembered and reverted to subjects which they had discussed during their last interview, previously to his illness.*

The Cabinet Council, held at Windsor on the 28th, had been summoned for a specific purpose. The physicians had not only remonstrated that the distance of Windsor from London occasioned them great personal inconvenience, but they also urged that exercise in the open air was essentially necessary in the King's state, and as there was no garden at Windsor in which he could walk without being overlooked either from the Terrace or from the roofs of the neighbouring houses, they proposed his immediate removal to Kew. So great, however, was known to be the King's dislike to quitting Windsor—so probable did it seem that the change could only be effected by resorting to force—that it was apparently not till the physicians had made oath that the removal was absolutely necessary, that their advice was adopted by the Cabinet.† The King's aversion to leaving Windsor, the Queen told Miss Burney, was "terrible to think of."‡

On the 29th, the day fixed upon for the King's removal to Kew, all was confusion and despondency at Windsor. "Shall I ever," writes Miss Burney, "forget the varied emotions of this dreadful day? I rose with the heaviest of hearts, and found my poor Royal Mistress in the deepest dejection." For her own part, said the Queen, her heart misgave her when she thought of the probable consequences, but she felt it to be her duty to bow to the opinions of the physicians. The departure of the Queen

* Rose's Diaries, vol. i. p. 90.
† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 337. Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 70.
‡ Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 340.

the chamber of sickness at Windsor, but the Prince even went to such unnatural lengths as to employ his talents for mimicry, in which he was surpassed by few of his contemporaries, in imitating the ravings and gestures of his stricken father. As for the Duke of York, we are assured that "the brutality of the stupid sot disgusted even the most profligate of his associates." *

We must now revert to the afflicted monarch, in whose health, since last we took leave of him on the 28th of November, unhappily no improvement had taken place. The previous night had been passed by him in the most miserable manner. "How woeful, how bitter a day," writes Miss Burney on the 28th, "in every respect was this!"† At a Cabinet Council which had been held at Windsor on the preceding day, it was decided that the Lord Chancellor and the Prime Minister ought to have ocular evidence of the King's condition, and accordingly, so soon as the meeting broke up, they were separately admitted into his apartment. "The Chancellor," writes Miss Burney, "went into his presence with a tremor such as before he had been only accustomed to inspire, and, when he came out, he was so extremely affected by the state in which he saw his royal master and patron, that the tears rolled down his cheeks, and his feet had difficulty to support him." Pitt, though outwardly less agitated than the Chancellor, was apparently not less deeply affected at witnessing the sad condition of his Sovereign.‡ He found the King, as he told his cousin, William Grenville, far better than he had expected, but, nevertheless, evidently in a state of derangement.§ To his friend George Rose, Pitt gave a similar account. The King's manner to him, he said, was uncommonly kind; his visit seemed to give him great

* Massey's History of England, vol. iii. pp. 388, 389.

† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 336.

‡ Ibid. pp. 337, 338.

§ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 22.

pleasure, and though his conversation incessantly wandered from one topic to another, yet it was remarkable that he remembered and reverted to subjects which they had discussed during their last interview, previously to his illness *

The Cabinet Council, held at Windsor on the 28th, had been summoned for a specific purpose The physicians had not only remonstrated that the distance of Windsor from London occasioned them great personal inconvenience, but they also urged that exercise in the open air was essentially necessary in the King's state, and as there was no garden at Windsor in which he could walk without being overlooked either from the Terrace or from the roofs of the neighbouring houses, they proposed his immediate removal to Kew So great, however, was known to be the King's dislike to quitting Windsor—so probable did it seem that the change could only be effected by resorting to force—that it was apparently not till the physicians had made oath that the removal was absolutely necessary, that their advice was adopted by the Cabinet † The King's aversion to leaving Windsor, the Queen told Miss Burney, was "terrible to think of"‡

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* Rose's Diaries vol. i. p. 90

† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters vol iv p. 337 Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 70.

‡ Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters vol iv p. 317

and the Princesses from Windsor, which it had been decided should precede that of the King, presented a most melancholy spectacle. "I believe," writes Miss Burney, "it was about ten o'clock when her Majesty departed. Drowned in tears, she glided along the passage, and got softly into her carriage with two weeping Princesses and Lady Courtown, who was to be her Lady in Waiting during this dreadful residence. Then followed the third Princess with Lady Charlotte Finch. They went off without any state or parade, and a more melancholy scene cannot be imagined. There was not a dry eye in the house. The footmen, the housemaids, the porter, the sentinels, all cried, even bitterly, as they looked on."*

Unhappily it was only by stratagem—a necessary perhaps, but still a most cruel one—that the King could be prevailed upon to remove from Windsor. At this time, the ruling and passionate desire of his affectionate heart was to be allowed to embrace the wife and daughters from whom he had been so long separated, and accordingly, on the faith of a solemn promise that they should be admitted to his presence on his arrival at Kew, he allowed himself to be conducted to his carriage as quietly as if he had been a child. Since the day when Charles the First, on his way to his trial and execution, had wept over the shoulder of the ill-fated Duke of Hamilton at the foot of the steps of the Round Tower, no King of England had quitted Windsor under more mournful circumstances. The same sad domestic group, that had watched the departure of the Queen with weeping eyes, now blessed and prayed for the afflicted King as he passed along. Moreover, in the Courtyard, and in its vicinity, were assembled nearly the whole population of Windsor, who with silent reverence and valedictions beheld the melancholy spectacle.†

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. pp. 340, 341. † Ibid. p. 346.

The persons in the carriage with the King were his aide-de-camp General Harcourt, and two of his equerries.

At first, on the royal equipage emerging from under the massive gateway of Henry the Eighth, the King's countenance wore an expression of cheerfulness, but, on reaching the iron gates of the Little Park, he covered his face with his hands and burst into tears. He soon, however, recovered his composure; pointed out certain objects of interest which he passed on the road, and referred to the pleasure which he anticipated from again embracing his consort and her daughters. But, unhappily, instead of being accorded that long-looked-for pleasure, a bitter disappointment awaited him. If a contemporary account is to be credited, the King, on reaching Kew, was ushered into a large apartment to which he was unaccustomed, and where he was consigned to the care of the keepers who were in future to be his pages. His faithful equerries, we are told, withdrew from the palace according to orders which they had received, and even the royal physicians are said to have taken their departure at night for London. According to the same account, the King emphatically and pathetically demanded to see his family, but, in cruel mockery of his feelings, it was only through one of the windows that he was allowed to obtain a momentary glimpse of them, and then only of his daughters. Obeying, it is said, the impulse of the moment, he rushed forward to throw up the sash, when, discovering, to his heartrending mortification, that it had been fastened down, he was seized with a violent paroxysm, in the midst of which the Princesses were hurried from their father's presence, and the poor King dragged from the window, uttering pitiable entreaties to be allowed to speak to his children.*

Such is the account which we have—on what ought to be considered as high authority—of the treatment which

* Lady Harcourt's Diary, Massey's History of England, vol. iii. pp. 381, 383.

George the Third experienced on being entrapped to the dismal palace of Kew.* But still worse remains to be related: "The unhappy patient," we are told on the same authority, "upon whom this, the most terrible visitation of Heaven, had fallen, was no longer dealt with as a human being. His body was immediately enclosed in a machine, which left it no liberty of motion. He was sometimes chained to a staple. He was frequently beaten and starved, and, at the best, he was kept in subjection by menacing and violent language. The history of the King's illness showed that the most exalted station did not wholly exempt the sufferer from this stupid and inhuman usage. The King's disorder manifested itself principally in unceasing talk, but no disposition to violence was exhibited. Yet he was subjected constantly to the severe discipline of the strait waistcoat; he was secluded from the Queen and his family; he was denied the use of a knife and fork, of scissors, or any instrument with which he might inflict bodily injury. Such petty vexatious treatment could not fail to aggravate a disorder, the leading symptom of which was nervous irritability, caused by over application, extreme abstemiousness, and domestic anxiety. It would have been well if the errors of the physicians had been confined to ignorance. But their negligence was still more reprehensible. While the poor maniac was deprived of those tender offices which his wife and daughters might have rendered, he was abandoned to the care of low mercenaries, and so little discrimination was observed in the choice of his attendants, that the charge of his person devolved chiefly on a German page named Ernst, who was utterly unworthy to be trusted with the care of the

* So unfitted was Kew to be a winter residence, that not only were the bedrooms of the Princesses without carpets, but so out of repair was the building that Colonel Digby was obliged to procure sandbags, to keep the wind from penetrating through their doors and windows. Miss Burney, who had accompanied her royal mistress to Kew, describes the palace as being in "a state of cold and discomfort past all imagination."—*Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters*, vol. iv. pp. 352, 353.

humblest of his fellow-creatures. This man, who had been raised by the patronage of His Majesty, repaid the kindness of his royal master with the most brutal ingratitude. He went so far as to strike the helpless King; and on one occasion, when His Majesty wished to protract his exercise in the gardens at Kew, Ernst seized him in his arms, carried him into a chamber, and, throwing him violently on a sofa, exclaimed in an insolent manner to the attendants, 'There is your King for you.'"* It is further intimated that these outrages, "perpetrated in the seclusion of Kew," happily ceased on Dr. Willis being called in as one of the King's medical attendants, when "the brutal Ernst was dismissed altogether."†

These facts, as we have already stated, are related on high authority—that authority being Elizabeth Countess Harcourt, who was not only a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte and sister-in-law to General Harcourt, who accompanied the King to Kew, but who also lived on terms of particular intimacy with their Majesties.‡ Moreover, as regards the painful episode of the German page, Ernst, Lady Harcourt goes so far as to vouch that, after the King's recovery, she heard the story from His Majesty's own lips.§ Nevertheless, we cannot but think that these terrible details are greatly, though doubtless not wilfully, exaggerated. In the first place, these barbarities are stated to have commenced on the removal of the King to Kew *in the month of October*, and to have lasted till the month of December, "when happily Dr. Willis was called in,"‖ thus extending the period of His Majesty's sufferings over several weeks. But the fact is, that instead of the King having been removed to Kew in the month of *October*, it was not till the 29*th* of *November* that his removal took

* Massey's History of England, vol. iii. pp. 382-384. † Ibid. pp. 384, 385, 387.

‡ Lady Harcourt would even seem to have been an inmate of Kew Palace during some period of the King's illness.—See the *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. xliv. p. 55. § Massey, vol. iii. p. 384 note. ‖ Ibid. pp. 384, 386.

place, and consequently, as Dr. Willis was called in so early as Friday, the 5th of December,* the period is, of course, reduced to only six days. Moreover, considerable doubt seems to exist whether violent measures were resorted to *at all*, so long as the King was under the charge of his regular physicians; in fact, whether Dr. Willis was not himself the first to advocate and to employ them. From Miss Burney, for instance, we learn that, up to the date of the King's removal from Windsor, not only had there prevailed among his medical attendants the greatest disinclination to put any force upon him, lest it might be resented by him in the case of his recovery, but that "no human being dared even *mention* compulsion." "His smallest resistance," said Sir Lucas Pepys, "would have called up the whole country to his fancied rescue."†

Lady Harcourt's further account of the cruel state of

* Not the 4th, as stated in the narrative. See Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xliv. p. 9. Madame D'Arblay's Diary, vol. iv. p. 358. Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. 368, 3rd edition.

† Madame D'Arblay's Diary, vol. iv. pp. 336, 337, 342. Even more staggering are the following extracts from the depositions of the royal physicians, taken before the Committee of the House of Commons, from the 7th to the 13th of January, 1789:—

Examination of Sir Lucas Pepys.

"*Question*—Have not symptoms of irritation in His Majesty's case been frequent since you was last examined here? (viz. on the 8th of December.)

"*Sir Lucas Pepys*—Very frequent.

"*Q.*—Whether the means of coercion have not been more frequently resorted to since that period than before?

"*Sir L. P.*—More frequently.

"*Q.*—How long before your last examination were the means of coercion at all resorted to?

"*Sir L. P.*—I believe, *only once, if at all;* I am not sure."

Examination of the Rev. Dr. Francis Willis.

"*Q.*—When did you first begin the mode of coercion?

"*Dr. Willis*—I really don't know the particular day.

"*Q.*—Whether means of stronger coercion have not been used since your last examination than before?

"*Dr. Willis*—Certainly, a more firm coercion, but not so teasing to the patient."

Examination of Dr. Richard Warren.

"*Q.*—Has any rational mode of control or coercion been omitted?

"*Dr. Warren*—Not that I know of, since His Majesty came to Kew."—*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. xliv. pp. 49, 50, 67.

It further appears that "strict coercion" was not resorted to till on or about the 12th of December, viz. *after* the calling in of Dr. Willis.—*Ibid.* vol. xliv. pp. 75, 83.

isolation in which the King found himself at Kew—of the withdrawal of his faithful Equerries, the hurried departure of the physicians, and the consignment of his person to mere pages and keepers—must also be received with some qualification. So far, indeed, from the King having been so utterly deserted as stated by that lady, we have evidence not only that a physician, as well as either a surgeon or an apothecary, regularly slept in the palace, but that both an Equerry and a Groom of the Bedchamber were in constant attendance.*

But the most painful part of Lady Harcourt's narrative is doubtless the insolent and cowardly treatment which the defenceless King is said to have experienced in Kew Gardens at the hands of his German page Ernst. We must at once confess that we discredit the truth of this singularly painful story. In the first place, the outrage is stated to have been perpetrated *previously* to Dr. Willis having been called in, on whose arrival the "brutal Ernst" is said to have been dismissed. Now, inasmuch as we have the most incontestable evidence that it was not till the 11th of December that the King first took exercise in Kew Gardens, and as Dr. Willis had certainly been called in on the 5th, this part of the statement is easily confuted.† But even admitting the possibility of Ernst having been bold and brutal enough to commit so atrocious an assault on his sovereign, is it credible that so unparalleled an outrage as that of a King being dragged into one of his own palaces by one of his own menials, should have been committed without its becoming known either to the Queen or to others in authority at Kew, and, if known, is it at all more credible that so cruel, insulting, and treasonable an act should have been left unresented and unpunished till the arrival

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. pp. 318, 350, 354. See also Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. 3[illegible] and note, 3rd edition.

† Ibid. p. 360. Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xliv. p. 5.

of an irregular medical practitioner, with whom not one of the Royal Family had previously had any communication whatever. Moreover, let it be remembered how completely the level lawns of Kew were overlooked by the numerous windows of the palace, and further, that the King was lodged, not in a sequestered and half-tenanted mansion, but where there were, under the same roof with him, the gentlemen of his household, the medical attendants, and the usual complement of servants, male and female. In the palace, also, we find residing the Queen, the Princess Royal, the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, Lady Courtown, Madame Schwellenberg, Miss Burney, and Miss Planta, to each and all of whom he was an object of love and veneration. Surely, then, either curiosity, accident, or an anxious desire to behold their beloved sovereign return in safety from his walk, must have attracted one or more of these numerous persons towards the windows of the palace. No doubt, could it be clearly proved that Ernst received his dismissal at this period, some degree of credit might be claimed for Lady Harcourt's extraordinary statement. So far, however, from his having been so dismissed, the author, on searching the books in the Lord Chamberlain's Department, discovered the name of "George Ernst, Esq.," registered as a Page of the Back Stairs, with a salary of 80*l.* a year, so late as the 15th of April, 1801, when one Samuel Cox was sworn in, in his room. Not improbably Ernst may have died shortly after this date, since, on referring to the books of the Treasury, the author found that by two royal warrants, severally dated the 14th of October, 1801, a pension of 150*l.* a year was granted to Dorothy Ernst, widow, and a pension of 50*l.* to Charlotte Ernst, spinster; these persons being probably the wife and daughter of George Ernst. To these evidences of the Ernst family having enjoyed the favour of royalty, may

be added the further fact that, some years afterwards, the pension of the latter was increased to 150*l*.*

After all, the story of Ernst seems to be capable of easy explanation. It was one of the peculiarities attending the King's subsequent restoration to reason, that, for many weeks afterwards, he found it impossible to shake off the conviction that certain things were not realities, which, in fact, had had no other foundation than in his own distempered fancy; and accordingly many painful particulars that he related to Lady Harcourt were in all probability —not what had really occurred—but what he morbidly imagined had taken place. It should be mentioned that to Miss Burney, as well as to Lady Harcourt, the King represented himself as having been laid violent hands on by Ernst, but as the conversation with the former lady took place while the King's mind was still partially deranged, she seems to have attributed his conviction on the subject to what we conceive to have been the true cause—a mere illusion of his malady.† "The King," writes Lord Eldon's biographer, "during one of his illnesses complained to Lord Eldon, who related the story to Mr. Farrer, that a man in the employ of some of his physicians had knocked him down. 'When I got up again,' added the King, 'I said my foot had slipped, and ascribed my fall to that. It would not do for me to admit that the King had been knocked down by any one.'"‡

In some respects Lady Harcourt's general narrative is corroborated by that of Miss Burney, more especially as regards the painful deception by which the King was inveigled from Windsor to Kew. We further learn from Miss Burney that the Queen was highly displeased at

* By royal warrant, dated 25th August, 1811; Treasury MS.
† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 405.
‡ Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. p. 435.

promises having been made in her name which there was no intention of keeping.*

The addition of Dr. Willis, and afterwards of his son Dr. John Willis, to the staff of royal physicians, proved to be an important era in the annals of His Majesty's distemper. Doctor—or rather the Reverend—Francis Willis, Rector of St. John's, Wapping, had long enjoyed a reputation in the county of Lincoln for his successful treatment of persons afflicted with mental maladies. Like most persons who achieve great success in a profession for which they have not been regularly educated, he seems to have been looked upon as a mere quack by some, and as a paragon of intelligence by others. The medical profession naturally regarded him as an interloper; indeed, on one occasion, it was only by obtaining a doctor's diploma from the University of Oxford that he appears to have escaped a prosecution. "Dr. Willis," writes Lord Sheffield, "is a clergyman, and keeps a mad-house in Lincolnshire. He is considered by some as not much better than a mountebank, and not far different from some of those that are confined in his house."† The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, thought differently of him. "Since Dr. Willis, of Lincolnshire," writes his Grace, "has been called in, our hope has been more firm and constant, and at this moment stands very high. He has had great experience in this malady for eight-and-twenty years, and great success."‡ With the exception of the regular physicians, the inmates of Kew Palace seem to have been one and all favourably impressed with the Doctors Willis. In the opinion of Colonel Digby, they were "fine, lively, natural, independent characters"—praise which we find Miss Burney according them so soon as she made their acquaintance. "I was extremely struck," she writes, "with both these

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 348.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 256, 257.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 255.

physicians Dr Willis is a man of ten thousand, open, honest, dauntless, light hearted, innocent, and high minded I see him impressed with the most animated reverence and affection for his royal patient, but it is wholly for his character, not a whit for his rank Dr John, his eldest son, is extremely handsome, and inherits, in a milder degree, all the qualities of his father Miss Burney subsequently speaks of them as "most delightful people, all originality, openness, and goodness'*

That the King, notwithstanding his afflicted condition, retained his old love of humour, may be gleaned by the following anecdote Aware of Dr Willis being a clergyman, he taxed him at their first interview with having abandoned his sacred calling for profit, a rebuke to which the latter rejoined that the Saviour had cured demoniacs "Yes,' said the King, 'but He did not get seven hundred a year for it †

Dr Willis was no sooner established at Kew than he attributed the King's malady to what appear to have been its true causes—to the King's laborious attention to business to the severe bodily exercise which he had accustomed himself to take, to his ascetic abstemiousness, and the want of a proper amount of sleep ‡ Moreover, while the regular physicians spoke with gloom of the prospects of the King's recovery, Dr Willis never hesitated to pronounce it, subject to the will of Providence, as, humanly speaking, certain "Willis,' writes William Grenville on the 7th of December, "has, I understand, already acquired a complete ascendency over him, which is the point for which he is particularly famous' §

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters vol. iv pp 3[illegible]0 371 "Dr Willis," writes Hannah More who met him at the table of the Bishop of London "is the very image of simplicity quite a good plain, old fashioned country parson he is seventy three —*Memoirs of Hannah More* vol. ii. p. 144

† Massey's History of England vol. i[illegible] p. 3[illegible]

‡ Journals of the House of Commons vol. xliv p [illegible]

§ Buckingham Papers vol. ii p. 3[illegible]

The mode of treatment also, advocated by Dr. Willis, differed materially from that of the orthodox medical attendants, and as he was intrusted with the command of what was called the inner apartment, and of the management of the King's person, he was to a certain extent independent of them. Anxious to remove some of the irritating restraints to which the King was subjected, he adopted at times a liberality of treatment which astonished and terrified his more nervous colleagues. He had scarcely been twenty-four hours domesticated at Kew, when, as Dr. Warren afterwards informed a Committee of the House of Commons, he not only allowed the King a penknife with which to cut his nails, but even permitted him to shave himself. Being subsequently questioned by the Committee on the subject—"His Majesty," said Dr. Willis, "had not been shaved for a long while—perhaps a fortnight or three weeks. The person that had been used to shave him could not complete the parts of his upper and lower lips; and being confident from the professions and humour of His Majesty at that moment, I suffered His Majesty to shave his lips himself. Then he desired he might have his whole face lathered, that he might just run it over with a razor, and he did so in a very calm manner. His nails also wanted cutting very much, and upon his assurance, and upon my confidence in his looks, I suffered him to cut his own nails with a penknife, while I stood by him. It is necessary for a physician, especially in such cases, to be able to judge at the moment whether he can confide in the professions of his patient; and I never was disappointed in my opinion whether professions of the patient were to be relied on or no."* He was sure, said Dr. Willis to the King, as he presented the razor to him, that His Majesty was too good a Christian, and had

* *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. xliv. pp. 75, 80.

too much sense of what he owed to his people, to attempt self-destruction.*

It was, in fact, to the strong sense entertained by George the Third of his religious duties, that Dr. Willis appears to have, in a great degree, rested his hopes of the King's ultimate and perfect recovery. It was true, said Willis, that, as a consequence of his exalted position, a sense of humiliation, on his first restoration to reason, would probably be stronger in his mind than might be expected in that of an ordinary individual. He added, however, that, from the opportunities which he had been afforded of acquainting himself with His Majesty's principles and notions of religion, he had the greater hopes that the King would, with proper feelings of resignation, attribute his great affliction to the wise will and dispensation of Heaven,† and would be comforted and supported by that conviction. One circumstance is worthy of being recorded—that, even when his "case was generally thought desperate," his language was remarked to be more choice, his conversation more brisk, and the movements of his body more graceful, than previously to his derangement.‡ When free from paroxysm, his gentleness and resignation are said to have been singularly touching. According to Dr. Willis's account to Hannah More—"He never saw so much natural sweetness and goodness of mind, united to so much piety, as in the King."§ Little reason as he had to love Lord North, the mournful reflection that his old servant was afflicted with blindness more than once affected him even to tears.‖

It was about this time that Dr. Warren, on entering the King's sick apartment, was not less astonished than displeased at finding that the pathetic play of 'King Lear'

* Massey's History of England, vol. iii. p. [illegible]

† Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xliv. pp. 73, 83, 84.

‡ Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland, Dec. 12. Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. [illegible]

§ Memoirs of Hannah More, vol. ii. p. 14[illegible].

‖ Ibid.

had been placed in his hands. Nor was he less affected by the observations made by the King on a story so closely and painfully resembling his own. His Majesty, in answer to Warren's inquiry through whose agency he had obtained the volume he saw in his hands, intimated that it was through Dr. Willis. This fact was stoutly denied by Willis—yet the King proved to be substantially correct in his statement. The circumstances connected with this incident are not uninteresting. He had conceived a morbid desire to re-peruse that noble drama, but Willis, though he had himself never read it—as appears by his subsequent evidence before the House of Commons—was sufficiently well aware of the mournful parallel between the condition of his illustrious patient and that of the

"Poor, infirm, weak, and despised old man"

immortalized by Shakespeare, and consequently he very properly declined to comply with the King's wishes. His Majesty's knowledge of literature, however, being superior to that of his physician, he contrived to outwit him. Twenty years previously, 'King Lear,' as altered by George Colman, had been performed with very indifferent success at Covent Garden Theatre, yet, notwithstanding its failure, Colman had thought so favourably of his "corrections" as to incorporate the altered play in a subsequent edition of his collected dramatic writings. Accordingly the King, with the advantage of this knowledge, requested that Colman's works might be brought to him, and as Willis offered no objection, he thus obtained possession of the forbidden drama.*

It used to be related, with tears in her eyes, by the King's eldest daughter, the Queen of Wurtemberg, that the first time, after her father's recovery, that she and her

* *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. xliv. pp. 76, 81, 83. The play will be found in the third volume of Colman's Dramatic Works, p. 9[illegible] 1777.

sisters, the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, were allow to visit him, he turned the conversation to the mournf drama which had so impressed itself on his imagination "It is very beautiful," he said, "very affecting, and ver awful. I am like poor Lear," he added; "but, thank God! I have no Regan, no Goneril; but three Cordelias."*

On the 11th of December, as we have already intimated, the King took his first walk in Kew Gardens. As he passed underneath the apartments occupied by his children, he wistfully looked up to the windows, complaining "very heavily" that they would not even show themselves to him. "In consequence," said Dr. Willis in his evidence, "the next day I did desire that they should appear, and myself stood at the window with two of the Princesses when His Majesty was coming by; and His Majesty showed extravagant joy at the sight of them, though he said his eyes did not suffer him to see the Princess Amelia as well as he could wish." That same evening, this beloved child was led by Dr. Willis to her father. Holding her on his knee, he conjured her to go and fetch her mother—a mission of love to which Dr. Willis was induced to give his consent, and thus the King and Queen were allowed an interview which lasted for about a quarter of an hour; the King all the time holding his consort's hand in his own, and occasionally carrying it with touching devotion o his lips. It was apparently, however, in consequence f objections being raised by the other physicians, that e royal pair were permitted but one more interview at s period. Week after week, from that time, were destined elapse before the Queen was again permitted to enter husband's apartment.† During that anxious interval, King's disorder continued constantly fluctuating from

iaries of a Lady of Quality, p 123

urnals of the House of Commons, vol. xliv. pp 80, 81, 82. Massey's H
nd, vol. iii. p. 387.

better to worse, and from worse to better; his condition sometimes filling with bright hopes the hearts of the secluded inmates of Kew Palace, and sometimes occasioning a return to the deepest anxiety and gloom. Unfortunately the King's medical attendants still differed in opinion in regard to the character of his malady. For instance, in the middle of January we find Dr. Warren intimating to the Queen that he considered the King to be "rather worse" than he had been at Windsor;* while Dr. Willis, on the other hand, was still all hope. Neither was another of the royal physicians, Sir Lucas Pepys, much less sanguine. "All the private accounts of the King," writes Hannah More to her sister on the 6th of January, "are still better *than the* public ones. They say he talks to Willis of his complaint, and of the best method of treating it. He spoke with great calmness and soundness of mind of the King of Spain's death.† 'I cannot be such a hypocrite,' he said, 'as to pretend to be sorry, for he was never a friend to me or to this country.'"‡ Again, a few days afterwards, the same gifted lady writes—"The poor King the other night, after Dr. Willis had read prayers to him, prayed aloud for himself. On the 17th he said to the page—'Remember that to-morrow is the Queen's birthday, and I insist upon having a new coat.' As for Pitt, he goes on triumphantly."§

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 273.

† Charles the Third of Spain died on the 14th of December, 1788, at the age of seventy-three.

‡ Memoirs of Hannah More, vol. ii. p. 139.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 141.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Party spirit invades the King's sick-chamber—Attacks on the Queen—Progress of the Regency Bill—Ministerial arrangements in anticipation of a Regency—Defections from the Court—Favourable turn in the King's malady—The Queen readmitted to him—Burke's speeches in the Commons—The Chancellor's interviews with the King—The Princes' visit to their father, their unfilial conduct—The Duke of Queensberry dismissed—The King resumes his correspondence with Pitt—His gratitude for fidelity—The physicians dismissed—General illumination—Removal of the Court to Windsor—The Thanksgiving at St Paul's, conduct of the Prince—Balls and fêtes to celebrate the King's recovery—[illegible] ill treatment received by [illegible] to the King—His renewed [illegible] Lennox—The Prince's comp[illegible]

IN the mean time, party feeling continued to run as high as ever both in and out of Parliament; men forming their opinions of the King's condition according to their respective wishes or fears. "There is no circle into which one goes"—writes Storer to Lord Auckland—"where one person does not tell you that the King is *now* so near the re-establishment, both of his bodily and *mental* health, that he will meet his Parliament in a fortnight; and some other contradicts him flatly by asserting that both his mind and body are in the most desperate situation."* "Opposition"—writes William Grenville—"have been taking inconceivable pains to spread the idea that his disorder is incurable."† Again, Lord Sydney writes to Lord Cornwallis—"The acrimony is beyond anything you can conceive. The ladies are, as usual, at the head of all animosity, and are distinguished by caps, ribands, and other such emblems of party."‡ Madame Huber, in a letter to Mrs. Eden, speaks of the fashionable "Regency Caps," and mentions the cheapest as costing seven guineas.§

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. [illegible] † [illegible] Papers, vol. ii. p. [illegible]
‡ Cornwallis Corresp., vol. i. p. [illegible] § Auckland Corresp., vol. ii. p. [illegible]

Party animosity even invaded the sick-chamber of the King, and biassed the conduct of his medical attendants. William Grenville speaks of them as "so warped by party, or by an anxiety to pay their court to the Prince, as certainly to deserve the severest reprehension."* Such persons as loved the King, or who wished well to Mr. Pitt's Government, naturally clung to every word of hope which escaped from the lips of Dr. Willis, while the Prince's friends, relying on the authority of the orthodox Warren, pronounced the King to be a confirmed lunatic, and Willis a mere empiric and creature of Pitt. Sir Sidney Smith, for instance, in a letter to Lord Auckland speaks of "the Opposition physicians" as being so clamorous in their efforts to invalidate the testimony of Willis, that the public had become "strangely divided in doubts, hopes, and fears."—"It is a strange subject," writes the Archbishop of Canterbury, "for party to exist upon, and disgraceful to the country that it should be so; but so it is."† Wilberforce, in his Diary, incidentally speaks of the Speaker of the House of Commons as being apparently *be-Warrened.*‡

And into these party animosities and discussions was dragged the fair name of the unhappy lady who had never in her life interfered in politics; who had ever shrunk with a morbid horror from public notoriety; whose ruling and self-devoting object it had been, for more than a quarter of a century, to promote the happiness and dignity of a beloved husband, and whose hopes and fears were now all centred in the sick-chamber of her stricken lord. Next to his restoration to health, she prayed that she might be enabled to preserve his kingly power for him unimpaired, and that, in the happy event of his recovery,

* Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 14.
† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 263, 267.
‡ Life of Wilberforce, vol. i. p. 199.

her conduct might meet with his approval. Chilled by the disheartening looks, and disgusted by the party spirit which she discovered in the regular physicians, she naturally flew for comfort to the hopeful words of the single-hearted Lincolnshire clergyman. Yet, on the score of these amiable feelings, the Queen, both in Parliament and by the Press, was constantly and cruelly accused of aiming at political and personal power; in fact, of being in collusion with Willis to keep the King's real state of health a secret from the public, and thus excluding the Prince, her son, from the possession of his legitimate rights. Moreover, at the head of those who brought these baseless accusations against the afflicted Queen, she had the mortification to find her own eldest and favourite child. That the Prince, whether unwittingly or not, did his mother the greatest injustice, appears to be freely admitted even by his own friend and Groom of the Stole, Lord Southampton. Speaking of the Prince's conduct at this period, Lord Southampton writes to Lord Cornwallis on the 6th of March, 1790—"It is a great misfortune, and, I shall always think, originated in error. Nature had certainly imprinted in the mother's breast a love to her eldest son beyond the power of ambition and competition to eradicate, and I am convinced that the part that she took was doubly to secure the power to her husband, if he should recover, and to use it as her son should direct, in case all chance of recovery should cease."* Party feeling, however, ran too high to listen to reason. "You will see in the Opposition papers," writes William Grenville to Lord Buckingham, "that they are beginning to abuse the Queen in the most open and scandalous manner."† Some of the stories which were propagated to her disadvantage were indeed "scandalous." What, asks Horace Walpole, will the King, if he recovers,

* Cornwallis Papers, vol. ii. p. 57. † Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 68.

think of the Queen and her Pitt? Will he be pleased at her having attained a power which he never intended to impart to her? "Will he be quite satisfied with the codicil to his will, which she surreptitiously obtained from him in his frenzy, *in the first agony of her grief?*"*—"How would the King on his recovery," inquired Burke in the House of Commons, "be pleased at seeing the patronage of the Household taken from the Prince of Wales, his representative, and given to the Queen? He must be shocked at the idea."† "What," also asks the Prince of Wales himself, "will probably be the nature of the King's feelings on the happy day of his recovery, when informed of the injury which has been inflicted on the Crown and on the rights of his family, by the degrading curtailment of the kingly authority in the person of his son?"‡ Yet, when the King subsequently recovered his reason, so far was he from being dissatisfied with the conduct of his Consort, that, if anything could have added to the deep affection which he entertained for her, and the entire confidence he had ever placed in her discretion, it was the anxious solicitude and devotion with which she had watched over his interests during the period of his afflicting visitation. That the Queen was deeply distressed by the public attacks which were made upon her, there can be no question. "My poor royal mistress," writes Miss Burney, "now droops. I grieve—grieve to see her. But her own name and conduct called in question—who can wonder she is shocked and shaken?" Sir Sidney Smith, about

* Walpole's Letters, vol. ix. p. 168.

† Burke's Speeches, vol. iii. p. 410.

‡ The Prince's reply to Mr. Pitt, dated 2nd January, 1789. We have the authority of Sir Gilbert Elliot that this celebrated letter was written by Burke, with some alterations—which Sir Gilbert thinks were not for the better—by Sheridan and others. See Moore's *Life of Sheridan*, vol. ii. p. 54, 5th edit. Prior's *Life of Burke*, vol. ii. p. 9, &c., 2nd edit. The Prince, in a note to Lord Loughborough, speaks of Pitt's proposed restrictions on the Regency as, in his opinion, "such as no dictator could possibly ever have been barefaced enough to have brought forward."—Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 210.

this time, speaks of the Queen "as worn to a skeleton, and Miss Burney relates that she was easily moved to tears *

In the mean time, the Bill which was to confer the Regency upon the Prince of Wales, and to empower him to dismiss the present administration, was making tolerably rapid progress through Parliament On the 12th of February it finally passed the House of Commons The day on which it was to be read for the third time in the House of Lords was close at hand The Opposition were in high glee The new ministerial arrangements were in every mouth The Duke of Portland was to have been First Lord of the Treasury, Fox and Lord Stormont Secretaries of State, the Duke of York Commander in Chief, Earl Fitzwilliam First Lord of the Admiralty, Earl Spencer Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Sheridan Treasurer of the Navy, and Fitzpatrick Secretary at War Lord North, it was understood, declined being a member of the Cabinet A new batch of Field Marshals was to have been made, to consist of the new Regent, the Duke of York, their uncle the Duke of Gloucester, and General Conway All the Colonels, down to the Prince's friend Lord Rawdon, were to have been promoted to be Major Generals Even the names of the Regent's intended aides de camp appeared in the newspapers Mrs Fitzherbert, it was said, was to have been created a Duchess,† and, as a matter of course, the Great Seal was to have been given to Lord Lough borough "On Friday night," writes the Archbishop of Canterbury, "an odd thing happened at a great assembly and ball at Devonshire House, given for all the world When it was very full, the doors flew open, and 'Lord Chancellor was announced, when lo! Lord Lough

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol iv pp. 3.. 373 Auckland Correspondence, vol ii, p .3.

† Auckland Papers, vol ii, p 101 Auckland Corresp. vol ii, pp 2.1 2.3

borough walked in. The servant probably considered him, and had been used to call him so, three weeks ago."*

That, during the King's illness, there should have been many defections to the Prince's side from among placemen and the people of the Court, was, perhaps, nothing more than was to be expected. Of the lower grades, not fewer than four of the King's pages—including the King's confidential page of the back-stairs, William Ramus†—subsequently lost their places for communicating private intelligence to the Prince of Wales.‡ Of the higher grades, in addition to the Lord Chancellor and others, may be mentioned the names of the Dukes of Queensberry and Northumberland, notwithstanding the former—the millionaire "Old Q" of the caricaturists and the stews—had been for nearly thirty years a lord of the King's bedchamber, and that the House of Percy, or rather Smithson, were under great obligations to their Sovereign. To Lord Cornwallis Lord Sydney writes on the 21st of February—"The Duke of Northumberland, whose ill humour broke out as soon as he had got his Blue Riband, has been, with Rawdon, at the head of what has been called the Armed Neutrality. These too have joined the Prince; are the most inveterate and hostile of anybody, covered as they are with the poor King's favours. Gratitude was not, in the King's melancholy situation, to be expected from Stormont and Loughborough; and they boast that, notwithstanding their obligations to His Majesty, their attachment is to the Constitution. I will not dwell upon this filthy subject even to state the filthiest conduct of North, who is led down to the House to act under Sheridan, to joke upon the King's misfortunes. Thank God! the country in all parts, and both Houses of Par-

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 301.

† The "Billy Ramus" of Peter Pindar's ribald verse.

‡ Cornwallis Corresp., vol. ii. p. 37 and note.

liament, have nobly stood by the King More affection and concern could not have been shown, and His Majesty will have the satisfaction of finding how much he is personally beloved "*

In the midst, however, of this discreditable and exciting state of affairs, the bulletins which made their appearance at St James s began to be worded in much less disheartening terms than had been the case of late, and consequently the countenances of the Prince's friends were observed to grow correspondingly rueful The King s malady, in fact, had taken a favourable turn For instance, when, on the 2nd of February, Miss Burney accidentally encountered and conversed with him in Kew Gardens—notwithstanding there was still a wildness in his eyes, and although his speech was still nervously rapid, and sometimes almost incoherent—his countenance, as he laid his hands upon her two shoulders and kissed her cheek, expressed "all its usual benignity,' the meeting leaving altogether upon her mind a sanguine hope of his early recovery Immediately after Miss Burney's return to the palace, we find the Queen eagerly listening to her recital of what had passed "Her astonishment,' writes the former, "and her eagerness to hear every particular, were very great ' "Walking in the garden with Dr Willis," writes Hannah More, "the latter descried two or three of the workmen, and ordered them to withdraw 'Willis,' said the King, 'you do not know your own business Let the men come back again You ought to accustom me to see people by degrees, that I may be prepared for seeing them more at large ' Mrs Boscawen's house joins Kew Gardens Seeing the workmen had made a fire to burn rubbish, he said—'Pray put out that fire directly Don't you see it smokes Mrs Boscawen's house? ' †

* Cornwallis Correspondence vol. i. p. 40?

† Memoirs of Hannah More vol. ii. p. 14?

A day or two after the King had encountered Miss Burney, his equerries were not only allowed to attend him in the evening, but, as will be seen by the following letter, the Queen was readmitted to his sick-chamber.

Queen Charlotte to the Bishop of Worcester.

"MY LORD, "KEW, *Feb. 7th,* 1789.

"When I was last night with the King he inquired very anxiously after you, and seemed pleased to hear of your having been at Kew to inform yourself after him. He also gave me the sermon for you of Mr. Thomas Willis, and ordered me to send it as soon as possible, and to express how much he wished to know your opinion about it. I am likewise to introduce this new acquaintance of ours to you, which I shall do by a letter through him; and I hope, nay, I am pretty sure, that you will like him, as he really is a very modest man, and, by his conduct in this house, gains everybody's approbation. I am sorry to hear that your visit at Kew should have proved so painful to you as to give you the gout, but I hope to hear that it is not a very severe attack.

"CHARLOTTE.

"P.S.—My good Lord, this letter was wrote yesterday, but no opportunity found to send it; the consequence of which is, that the sermon is brought by its author, whom I hope you will approve of."*

From this time the King's health continued gradually and satisfactorily to improve. On the 14th we find him visited by the Queen and Princesses in the evening; on the 16th Miss Burney mentions the delight which prevailed in the royal household on its being known that the King and Queen were walking arm in arm in Richmond Gardens;† and on the 17th the bulletin pronounced His Majesty to be in a state of convalescence. Yet Fox writes on this very day from Bath to Fitzpatrick—"I leave this place on Thursday, but stay for letters; and therefore, if

* Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. 338.
† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. iv. p. 414.

you could let me know by the return of the post on what day the Regency is like to commence, I should be obliged to you" Fox's friends, however, were evidently much less sanguine than himself "If it were possible,' he writes, "to do anything to cure that habitual spirit of despondency and fear that characterizes the Whig party, it would be a good thing, but I suppose that is impossible' *

Doubtless, to those whose fortunes were depending upon the chances of the Heir Apparent becoming Regent, His Majesty's convalescence was a bitter pill to swallow Neither would the Prince himself, nor the Duke of York, seem to have been much less disappointed than their friends "I have not heard as yet," writes Lord Bulkeley, "but conclude they were both rioting and drunk at the masquerade, as they were at one a week ago The truth Feb is that they are quite desperate, and endeavour to drown their cares, disappointments, and internal chagrin, in wine and dissipation '† But the person whom the prospect of the King's recovery plunged into the wildest extravagances seems to have been Edmund Burke, whose indecent personalities in the House of Commons, during the delicate discussions on the King's illness, are apparently scarcely compatible with a healthy mind "Mr Burke," writes a contemporary, "is almost mad, and will be quite so, no doubt, if the King recovers"‡ The House of Commons, he once told them, might bring back a King, but it would be a King subdued and quieted by coercion "Did the House," he exclaimed on another occasion, "recollect that they were talking of a sick King, of a monarch smitten by the hand of Omnipotence, that the Almighty had hurled him from his throne, and plunged him into a condition which drew down upon him the pity of the meanest peasant in his kingdom?" At a time, he added, when the

* Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox vol. ii. p 302.

† Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. pp. 122, 123.

‡ Auckland Corresp., vol. ii. p. 291

Sovereign was struck by the hand of Heaven, "ought they to make a mockery of him, to put a crown of thorns on his head, a reed in his hand, and, dressing him in a raiment of purple, to cry—Hail, King of the Britons!"* Another notable person of the day, whose blood boiled with wrath at the prospect of the King's restoration to power, was his old maligner, Horace Walpole. "The King," he writes, "has returned, not to what the courtiers call his sense, but to his non-sense. I do not doubt," he adds, "but the nation will grow drunk with the loyalty of rejoicing, for Kings grow popular by whatever way they lose their heads."† Walpole was perfectly correct in his estimate of the amount of national joy which the news of the King's convalescence was destined to excite. "Nobody," wrote William Grenville, "talks, writes, thinks, or dreams of anything else."‡

On the 17th of February the King was considered well enough to receive a visit from the Lord Chancellor; it being understood, however, that all discussion on state affairs was to be carefully avoided. "No politics;" he said at this time;—"my head is not strong enough for that subject."§ On the 20th the Chancellor was admitted to a second interview, when he recounted in general terms to the King the outline of what had occurred during his illness. "Pitt," writes William Grenville, "has seen the Chancellor since his return from Kew to-day. He says that he never saw, at any period, the King more composed, collected, or distinct, and that there was not the least trace or appearance of disorder." On the following day William Grenville writes—"The accounts this morning are as good as can be;"‖ and again, on this day, Lord Sydney writes to Earl Cornwallis—"The Chancellor was yesterday with His Majesty, and for the first time talked

* Burke's Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 409, 410.

† Walpole's Letters, vol. ix. pp. 168, 170.

‡ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 119.

§ Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 292.

‖ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. pp. 119, 120.

to him upon business, and opened to him in part the measures which had been taken during his confinement. I understand that His Majesty was by no means the worse for this conversation. Dr. Willis, who attends him, says that, were he a private man, he should advise his following now his usual occupation, as the mode of living most likely to restore him. But, God knows! His Majesty will have a severe trial when he is informed of all that has passed during the unhappy interval. Every possible care will no doubt be taken to prepare him. You will hear from other hands, probably, that the Prince of Wales has got complete possession of the Duke of York, and that they had meditated such changes in the State and the Army as would have grieved him exceedingly. No scruple has been made of declaring that a general sweep of all places would be made, if the Regency were to last only a day."*

Among the persons most eager to obtain early interviews with the convalescent monarch, were the two Princes themselves. Sooner or later, as they were well aware, their father must be made acquainted with the circumstances of their late unfilial conduct, and accordingly it was of much importance to them to be the first to tell their own story, and to tell it in their own way. It still continued necessary, however, that the King should avoid all exciting subjects of conversation, and consequently when, on the 23rd of February, he at length received his sons, it was in the presence of the Queen, and with the injunction that only ordinary topics were to be discussed.† Slight reason as he had to be pleased with the two Princes, he nevertheless welcomed them with touching affection. To Colonel Digby he observed, as their names were announced—"The House of Brunswick

* Cornwallis Papers, vol. i. pp. 405, 406.
† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 294, 295.

never shed tears;" yet, at the very moment when he uttered the words, the tears were ready to burst from his eyes.* To Lord Buckingham, Lord Bulkeley writes on the following day—"Lord Winchelsea, who was at Kew the whole time, told me that the Prince and Duke of York, though appointed at one, did not arrive till half-past three; and that, when they came out, they told Colonel Digby that they were delighted with the King's being so well, and remarked that two things, in the half-hour's conference which they had with him, had struck them very forcibly—that he had observed to them how much better he played at picquet than Mr. Charles Hawkins, and that since he had been ill he had rubbed up all his Latin.† And these facts, which *are* facts, I expect to hear magnified by the Carlton House runners into instances of insanity."‡

Lord Bulkeley proved tolerably correct in his conjectures. The same day William Grenville writes to Lord Buckingham—"The two Princes were at Kew yesterday, and saw the King in the Queen's apartment. She was present the whole time, a precaution for which, God knows, there was but too much reason. They kept him waiting a considerable time before they arrived, and, after they left him, drove immediately to Mrs. Armstead's in Park-street, in hopes of finding Fox there, to give him an account of what had passed. He not being in town, they amused themselves yesterday evening with spreading about a report that the King was still out of his mind, and in quoting phrases of his, to which they gave that turn. It is certainly a decent and becoming thing that, when all the King's physicians, all his attendants, and his two principal Ministers, agree in pronouncing him well, his two sons should deny it."§

* Lady Harcourt's Diary; Massey's History of England, vol. iii. p. 401.

† Twenty-four years afterwards, when the King was for the last time labouring under insanity, we find him making use of Latin words, in order to prevent his meaning being understood by those who overheard him.—*Diaries of a Lady of Quality*, p. 211.

‡ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 122.

§ Ibid. pp. 125, 126.

Lord Thurlow, in allusion to the Princes' dogged discredit of their father's recovery, is said to have exclaimed—"By ——! I suppose they *wind up* the King whenever I go to Kew, for he seems always well when I see him."—"Pious children those!" writes M. Hubert to Lord Auckland.*—"That his [the King's] mind," writes the Prince's friend Lord Rawdon on the 28th of February, "is at present tranquil, and clear upon ordinary subjects, is without dispute; but the suspicion is that there are certain strings which will, whenever they are touched, produce false music again."† Even so late as the 30th of May we find the Prince admitting no more than that his father is "better." "The King," he writes on that day to Lord Cornwallis, "is convalescent; that is to say, he certainly is better. Everything is thrown into the hands of the Queen. Every friend that supported me and the common cause of succession in the family, if they had any place, have been dismissed—such as the Duke of Queensberry and our little friend Lothian. Queensberry has been dismissed, by order of the Queen and Mr. Pitt, from the Bedchamber. Lothian has left his regiment of Horse Guards."‡ Lord Lothian, it will be remembered, was the nobleman whom the Prince introduced into the King's darkened chamber at the time when his derangement was at its height. As for the Duke of Queensberry, Lord Sydney writes to Lord Cornwallis on the 21st of February—"They have driven old Queensberry out of England by calling him a *rat* for deserting his master to hobble after a young Prince. At Calais his Grace was in doubt whether he should go to Brussels or venture to Paris, where he would have been as much abused as in London. I believe he has gone to Brussels. Lothian is a conspicuous figure among the deserters."§

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 306.
† Cornwallis Papers, vol. i. p. 403.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 27, 28.
§ Ibid. vol. i. p. 406.

It was on the afternoon of the day on which the King received his sons, that he despatched the following interesting letter to Mr. Pitt. "Pitt," writes Wilberforce on the 25th, "showed me the King's excellent letter."*

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"KEW, *Feb. 23rd*, 1789.

"It is with infinite satisfaction that I renew my correspondence with Mr. Pitt by acquainting him with my having seen the Prince of Wales and my second son. Care was taken that the conversation should be general and cordial. They seemed perfectly satisfied. I chose the meeting should be in the Queen's apartment, that all parties might have *that caution, which, at the* present hour, could but be judicious.

"I desire Mr. Pitt will confer with the Lord Chancellor, that any steps which may be necessary for raising the annual supplies, or any measures *that the interests of the nation may* require, should not be unnecessarily delayed, for I feel the warmest gratitude for the support and anxiety shown by the nation at large during my tedious illness, which I should ill requite if I did not wish to prevent any further delay in those public measures which it may be necessary to bring forward this year; though I must decline entering into a pressure of business, and, indeed, for the rest of my life, shall expect others to fulfil the duties of their employments, *and only keep that superintending eye* which can be effected without labour or fatigue.

"I am anxious to see Mr. Pitt any hour that may suit him to-morrow morning, as his constant attachment to my interest and that of the public, which are inseparable, must ever place him in the most advantageous light.

"G. R."†

Accordingly, on the following day, Mr. Pitt waited on his Sovereign. On his return to London he told Mr. Grenville that the King appeared to be perfectly free from all disorder; that his manner was unusually composed and dignified, and that when he spoke of his illness it was as a

* *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 206.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. i. pp. 97, 98. Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii.; Appendix, p. vi. Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. 482, 3rd edition.

thing that had passed, and which had left no other impression on his mind than gratitude to Heaven for his recovery, as well as to those who had stood by him in his calamity While he spoke of the kindness he had experienced it was with tears in his eyes, yet, even when thus affected, added Mr Pitt, there was not the slightest appearance of mental disease *

Not long afterwards we find the King, in another letter to Mr Pitt, reiterating the grateful sense which he entertained for "the warm and steady support he had met with during his severe and tedious illness"† He had, indeed, reason to be grateful to his first Minister "In the midst of all these disquieting circumstances," writes Wilberforce to the Rev Christopher Wyvill, "my friend is every day matter of fresh and growing admiration I wish you were as constantly as I am witness to that simple and earnest regard for the public welfare by which he is so uniformly actuated Great as I know is your attachment to him, you would love him more and more ‡ "There certainly," writes Mr Grenville, "never was in this country at any period such a situation as Mr Pitt's" §

Among those whom the King especially sent for, and thanked for the "affectionate fidelity with which they had adhered to him when so many others had deserted him, was his Solicitor General, Sir John Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon ‖ This visit was followed by one from the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Kenyon, from whose Diary on that day the following are extracts —"With the King at Kew by his command, I had a long private conference He Mar delivered me many of his private papers to take home and consider for him Treated me most graciously" "Frederick only voted against us once—did he?' in

* Buckingham Papers, vol ii. p 12.
† Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt vol. ii. Appendix p v
‡ Life of Wilberforce vol. i. p. 191
§ Buckingham Papers vol ii. p. 81
‖ Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 1[illegible]

quired the King; a distressing question which the Chief Justice did his best to parry. "Your Majesty," he replied, "must be aware to what trials one in his situation is exposed." "Very true," said the King, "very true."*

Early in March the King was allowed to resume his card-parties with his Equerries in the drawing-room at Kew, and on the 9th had an affecting interview with a nobleman for whom he entertained the truest affection and respect, George Duke of Marlborough. The Archbishop of Canterbury incidentally mentions that the Duke was with the King for half an hour, and that his Majesty presented him on the occasion with an astronomical watch. "The King," writes the Duke to Lord Auckland, "sent for me to Kew the other day, and I found him just as I could wish as to health and spirits. He was very kind to me indeed. I fear I behaved like a fool twice whilst I was with him, but the account of his feelings, &c., moved me so much that I could not help it; and he took it very kindly, and was a good deal affected himself."†

The following pleasing anecdote, connected with the recovery of George the Third, is from an autograph memorandum of the late Earl of Lonsdale. "Some months after the King's recovery from his first illness, Mr. —— waited on His Majesty at Windsor to receive his commands on some matters connected with his office. In conversation, the discussions on the Regency question were alluded to, and the King, having asked some questions, went on saying—'To say the truth, I have never yet looked into the

* Lord Kenyon's Diary; March 8. Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. v. p. 678. At a later period we find the Prince of Wales endeavouring, though to little purpose, to obtain from Lord Cornwallis an expression of approval of the Duke of York's political conduct during the King's illness—including, of course, an approval of the Prince's own. "I must honestly confess," replies the Earl on the 14th of August, 1790, "that, if I had been in England in the winter of 1788-9, I should have thought it my duty, however painful it might have been to me, to have taken a different line from his Royal Highness in Parliament."—*Cornwallis Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 35, 36.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 300, 301.

papers relating to it, as I could not do so till I found myself in a disposition to forgive all those who might have acted in a manner I could not approve, but I now feel myself prepared to examine them. I took the Sacrament this day, and shall begin with the papers to-morrow morning.'"* When, at the beginning of March, the King saw the Bishop of London, he told him that even when his illness was at the worst, his trust in God had never forsaken him, and that this confidence alone had been his support.†

On the 10th of March, the day on which the King had the satisfaction of seeing his physicians take their departure from Kew, there was exhibited at night, in honour of his recovery, the most magnificent illumination that perhaps ever lighted up the capital of England and its beautiful environs. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who beheld the scene from the windows of Lambeth Palace, describes the illuminations as universal, and the streets as being as crowded as at midday. As far as his Grace could learn, the blaze of light extended even to Greenwich, Hampstead, and Brentford.‡ "London," writes Wraxall, "displayed a blaze of light from one extremity to the other, the illuminations extending, without any metaphor, from Hampstead and Highgate to Clapham, and even as far as Tooting, while the vast distance between Greenwich and Kensington presented the same dazzling appearance. The poorest mechanics contributed their proportion, and instances were exhibited of cobblers' stalls decorated with one or two farthing candles."§—"The nation," writes Lord Macaulay, "was wild with delight. On the evening of the day on which His Majesty resumed his functions, a spontaneous illumination, the most general that had ever been seen in

* MS. original. † Memoirs of Hannah More, vol. ii. p. 144.
‡ Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 301.
§ Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs, vol. iii. pp. 369, 370.

England, brightened the whole vast space from Highgate to Tooting, and from Hammersmith to Greenwich." *

"This day," writes Miss Burney from Kew, "was a day of happiness indeed." The Queen, leaving the King almost alone with his lovely and beloved little child, the Princess Amelia, carried the elder Princesses with her to witness the splendid spectacle of London in a blaze of light, but not till she had arranged a private illumination of the palace and of the courtyard of Kew, which she hoped would prove a gratifying surprise to her consort. Her amiable object was crowned with success. No sooner were the transparencies lighted up than the little Princess Amelia drew her father to the window of a front room, where, falling on her knees, she presented him with a copy of congratulatory verses, written, at the Queen's request, by Miss Burney, concluding with the following postscript—

"The little bearer begs a kiss
From dear papa for bringing this."

"I need not, I think, tell you," writes the authoress of 'Evelina,' "that the little bearer begged not in vain. The King was extremely pleased. He came into a room in which we had a party to look at the illuminations, and there he stayed above an hour, cheerful, composed, and gracious."† When, at two o'clock in the morning, the Queen returned

* Lord Macaulay's Biographies, pp. 193, 194.

† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v. pp. 8, 9. More than seventy-seven years have passed away (1866), since Kew Palace was illuminated in honour of George III.'s recovery, yet the venerable and accomplished scholar from whose obliging letters to the author the following passage is an extract, still survives:—

"Nec turpem senectam
Degere, nec citharâ carentem."

"I can well remember," he writes, "the illuminations on the King's announced recovery, and was present when the grand transparency by Biagio Rebecca was put up in the court facing the palace in the evening of the 10th of March, 1789, which was described in the 'St. James's Chronicle' of the 17th of March of that year. In the lines at the bottom he was described as,—

'The best of husbands, fathers, and of friends.'"

to Kew, to her great surprise she found the King standing at the porch to hand her from her carriage, and to thank her for the gratification which she had afforded him.* "The Queen and Princesses," writes Hannah More, "came to see the illuminations, and did not get back to Kew till after one o'clock. When the coach stopped, the Queen took notice of a fine gentleman who came to the coach-door without a hat. This was the King, who came to hand her out. She scolded him for being up and out so late, but he gallantly replied he could not possibly go to bed and sleep till he knew she was safe."†

On the 13th of March the King was well enough to receive the congratulations of the *Corps Diplomatique,* and the next day he quitted Kew for a few days' residence at Windsor. "All Windsor," writes Miss Burney, "came out to meet the King. It was a joy amounting to ecstacy. I could not keep my eyes dry all day long. A scene so reversed! Sadness so sweetly exchanged for thankfulness and delight!"‡

On the following day, Sunday, the King—ever strict in the performance of his religious duties—received the Holy Sacrament at the hands of his favourite prelate, Bishop Hurd. "On March the 15th," writes the Bishop, "I

* The Queen's visit to London, to witness the illuminations, was celebrated by Cowper in a copy of verses of no very extraordinary merit. The following, however, is a pleasing stanza:

> "Glad she came that night to prove
> A witness undeserved
> How much the object of Her love
> Was loved by ALL beside."

The Queen, it seems, went in the first instance to Lord Bathurst's house in Piccadilly, now Apsley House, and afterwards drove about the streets with the Princesses in private carriages.

† Memoirs of Hannah More, vol. ii. p. 1[illegible]

‡ Madame D'Arblay's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 10. The King had previously gone to Windsor for an hour or two on the preceding Saturday. "The King," writes the Archbishop of Canterbury, "longed to go to Windsor, and went with the Queen on Saturday; was affected by the acclamations and joy of the people, but returned before six, comfortably, perfectly well, and happy in having been there."—*Auckland Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 3[illegible]

administered the Sacrament to His Majesty at Windsor in the chapel of the Castle, as also on Easter Sunday, April 12th, and preached both days. At the Sacrament of March 15th the King was attended by only three or four of his gentlemen. On Easter Sunday, the Queen, Princess Royal, and Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, with several lords and gentlemen and ladies of the Court, attended the King to the Chapel, and received the Sacrament with him." * Miss Burney writes on the 15th of March—"Bishop Hurd preached an excellent sermon, with one allusion to the King's recovery, delicately touched and quickly passed over." †

Deeply grateful to the Almighty for the singular mercies which had been extended to him, the King resolved to celebrate his recovery by a public Thanksgiving. Many who loved him feared that the excitement of the day might produce a return of his disorder, and therefore endeavoured, though in vain, to divert him from his pious purpose. Among these friendly counsellors was the Archbishop of Canterbury. "My Lord," was the King's reply to him, "I have twice read over the evidence of the physicians on my case, and if I can stand that, I can stand anything." It was accordingly arranged that the affecting and imposing ceremony should take place on the 23rd of April, on which day the King—accompanied to St. Paul's by the Queen, the Princesses, his brothers the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, and his sons, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and Prince William, afterwards Duke of Clarence—proceeded in solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral. A long and continuous line of splendid equipages contained the members of the House of Lords, the members of

* Bishop Hurd's Works, vol. i., Diary, p. xxi.
† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v. p. 11.

the House of Commons, the great officers of state, the Judges, the Masters in Chancery, and others Conspicuous above the rest were the King's state coach, drawn by eight cream coloured horses, and the state coaches of the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker of the House of Commons The densely crowded streets, along which the procession passed, were lined by the military—by the Foot Guards as far as Temple Bar, and by the Artillery Company and the City Militia from Temple Bar to St Paul's Cathedral The spectacle—enhanced as was its effect by the ringing of church bells, the roar of cannon from the Tower and St James's Park, and the enthusiastic shouts of thousands of people—was grand as well as affecting in the extreme At Temple Bar, the Lord Mayor, in his robe of crimson velvet, attended by the Sheriffs and by the Aldermen in their scarlet gowns, presented to him, with the ancient formalities, the Sword of the City of London On reaching St Paul's the surrounding area of which was patrolled by the Horse Guards, the King entered the great cathedral, walking between the Bishops of London and Lincoln , the Marquis of Stafford carrying before him the Sword of State At this moment, the voices of five thousand children, bursting into one grand chorus, produced such an effect upon his nervous system as to oblige him to cover his face with his handkerchief "I now," he said to the Bishop of Lincoln, "feel that I have been ill" * He soon, however, recovered his self possession, and, having taken his seat with the Queen under a canopy of state near the altar, preserved—notwithstanding his Consort and the Princesses were sobbing near him—the most perfect composure throughout the ceremony Opposite him, as the sons of Peers, sat Fox and Fitzpatrick, and behind them Pitt Nearer still to him sat the Prince

* Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. 4 3 3rd edition. See also [illegible] vol. ii. p. 131, and Auckland Correspondence vol. ii p. 314.

of Wales and the Princes of the Blood, whose conduct during the imposing ceremony is described as having been in the highest degree irreverent, if not indecent.* Happily, their conduct would seem to have been unperceived by the King, since, on handing the Queen into her carriage, he is represented as having been all smiles and apparent happiness.

If anything was wanting to complete the dissatisfaction felt by the heir to the throne at seeing his father the object of the blessings and prayers of so many thousands, it was the signal failure of one or two attempts made by his partisans to obtain a popular demonstration on his behalf along the line of procession, but which produced the contrary effect of eliciting still more enthusiastic acclamations in favour of the King. "The Prince," writes Lord Bulkeley, "lost his temper in the City, and never recovered it afterwards. At St. Paul's he was in the worst possible humour, and did everything he could do to expose himself, in the face of an amazing concourse of persons, and of all the Foreign Ministers."† The Prince, in fact, seems to have been almost as much out of favour with the public as his father was beloved. For instance, a play, which not only possessed considerable merit, but the principal characters of which were supported by Mrs. Siddons and

* Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. pp. 151, 152. "I have the satisfaction to acquaint you," writes an accomplished contemporary, "that everything has gone off in the most perfect and satisfactory manner. The day as fine as ever shone from the heavens. The people all perfectly loyal to the King, and civil to Mr. Pitt. Indeed, the latter was applauded from all the windows as he came along, and very loudly as he walked up the church. The ceremony was very *imposant*, and the naval part was executed in an officer-like manner. I accompanied Lady Spencer and other ladies in the Admiralty barge. We set out late, and reached the church early. Our seat was the best possible; very near the King and Queen, and exactly opposite the row of Princesses. From this situation I took a walk to the body of the church, under the dome, where the arrangement, and consequently the sight, was very fine. At breaking up, we stood on the top of the great flight of steps, and saw the Royal Family, &c., take their departure. Ludgate Hill, as far as you could see, lined with soldiers, the area filled with horse, and every window, as well as the top of every house, crowded with people."—*Memoir of William Marsden, D.C.L., F.R.S., written by Himself, privately printed*, p. 91 note.

† Buckingham Papers, vol. i. p. 152.

John Kemble, was withdrawn from Drury Lane Theatre after a representation of only one night, for no other reason apparently than that it bore the obnoxious name of 'The Regent'.*

Two distinguished persons, who were afforded opportunities of conversing with the King at this time, were James Barry, the painter, to whom the King was sitting for his portrait, and Sir Sidney Smith, the hero of Acre. A few days after the Thanksgiving in St Paul's Cathedral, the King inquired of Barry whether he had had a good view of the procession, to which the artist replied that he had seen it to great advantage from a window on Ludgate Hill. "Then you were more fortunate than I was," remarked the King, "for I saw nothing but my horses' backs!"† "The King," writes Sir Sidney Smith to Lord Auckland on the day after the Thanksgiving, "looks thinner, and is three stone lighter than he was. You will say you had rather hear of his mind than his body, in answer to which I can assure you of the goodness of his memory and the composure of his manner, for I put myself in his way a few days ago at Windsor, and got near enough to be spoken to. He alluded to the intention I had expressed to go to Spain, when I took leave to go abroad two years ago, and was more accurate as to the exact month in which I returned than I could be at a moment's warning, for I mistook it, and he corrected me, remembering my having kissed hands on my arrival, before *his illness*, which he alluded to as the circumstance that made him remember my being at the levee on my return."‡

The Queen and the nobility celebrated the King's re

* Adolphus's Life of John Bannister, vol. i. p. 301. Campbell's Life of Mrs. Siddons, vol. ii. p. [illegible] 'The Regent,' a tragedy, was written by Bertie Greatheed, Esq., of Guy's Cliff, Warwickshire.—*Biographia Dramatica*, vol. iii. p. [illegible]

† George III., His Court and Family, vol. ii. p. [illegible]

‡ Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 318.

covery with a series of balls and fêtes. The French Ambassador gave a splendid entertainment at the Embassy in Portland Place; the Spanish Ambassador a still more magnificent one at Ranelagh. White's Club gave a fête at the Pantheon, the tickets for which cost three guineas and a half each; and even Brooks's was shamed into giving one at the Opera House. But though the King had recovered his reason, and the ladies had left off their Regency caps and ribands, party feeling continued to run as high as ever in the fashionable world. The "ladies in Opposition" refused to grace the fête at White's with their presence, while the "ladies who supported Government" appear to have hesitated whether they should accept the tickets sent them from Brooks's. "The ladies," writes General Grant, a member of White's, to Lord Cornwallis on the 18th of March, "are all to be dressed in white and gold. On the front of their caps they are to have a motto of 'God save the King' in gold letters. The Prince and Duke of York were offered tickets, which they refused, but desired to subscribe. That was agreed to, but they are not to come. The Opposition ladies follow the example, and decline coming to the ball, but there probably will be some exceptions."*

But most unseemly of all was the conduct of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. The former not only endeavoured to dissuade his acquaintances to keep away from the entertainment at White's, but both Princes actually insulted the members of that club by sending their tickets to Hookham's library, in Bond-street, to be sold to any stranger that might think proper to purchase them. The Duke of York, it will be remembered, was to have been Commander-in-Chief in the event of the Regency devolving upon his elder brother; yet, notwithstanding he had so recently been named for this high

* Cornwallis Papers, vol. i. pp. 434, 435.

appointment, we find him, on the night of the loyal entertainment at White's, inviting himself to a dance at the Horse Guards, given to some ladies of pleasure by certain officers of his father's Household Troops. "I have not authentically heard," writes Sir William Young to Lord Buckingham, "whether the Prince of Wales was of the party. The day will come when Englishmen will bring these Princes to their senses."*

It was at this period, that the Queen—actuated by her deep devotion for her consort and by her indignation at the ill treatment which she imagined he had received—became for the first time in her life a partisan. Not only were the invitations to the parties at Buckingham House almost entirely confined to those who had "stood by the King" during his illness, but she wrote to the Prince of Wales that, though she would willingly receive him and his brother the Duke of York at her concert, she thought it but fair to tell them that the entertainment was intended for those who had supported their father "on the late occasion."† Moreover, at her first drawing room she even went so far as to distinguish with smiles those who had remained stanch to her husband's Government during his affliction, and to receive with cold looks those who had abandoned him in his "utmost need." Among the latter was the celebrated Dr Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, who in his autobiography, not only speaks with much bitterness of the reception he met with from the Queen, but also, with much injustice, we believe, brings a charge against her Majesty of having been actuated at this period, not so much by conjugal affection as by political motives. As regards the Queen's behaviour towards the Bishop at her drawing room, it certainly seems to admit of great if not of entire justification. For instance, at a time when the King's condition

* Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. pp. [illegible]

† Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. ii. p. [illegible]

had been thought to be hopeless, and when the world was *flocking* to salute the rising sun, the Bishop, desirous of being translated to the See of St. Asaph, vacant by the death of Dr. Shipley, had repaired to London,* and in a speech, certainly of no mean merit, distinguished himself as the only prelate in the House of Lords who spoke in favour of transferring the full powers of the afflicted King to his libertine son. True it was, that the Bishop subsequently encouraged the clergy of his diocese to draw up addresses to the throne, in which her Majesty was described as a pattern of "piety, amiableness, and purity, as a Queen, a wife, and as a mother;" but inasmuch as the King, at this time, had resumed his regal functions, we must accept the panegyric for as much as we may consider it worth. It should be mentioned that, on the occasion of the slight complained of by the Bishop, the Prince of Wales, who was standing by the Queen, went to the opposite extreme of accosting him in a marked and flattering manner, and of inviting him to dinner. The Bishop, however, fairly intimated to the Prince that Carlton House was at present not precisely the place where it would be prudent for him to dine, and consequently it was arranged that the entertainment should take place at the house of Sir Thomas Dundas. Another individual, who was treated with marked coldness by the Queen on this occasion, was the Duke of Northumberland. "So, my Lord," he said to Bishop Watson, "you and I are also become traitors!" †

Although little improvement, since the King's illness, had taken place in the conduct of the Prince of Wales and of the Duke of York towards their father, there had nevertheless been an interval since his recovery in which they had struggled hard, although to little purpose, to induce

* Bishop Shipley died on the 9th of December, 1788; Bishop Watson's speech was delivered on the 22nd of January following. Parl. Hist. vol. xxvii. col. 1045, &c.

† Life of Bishop Watson, by Himself, vol. i. pp. 365, 366.

him to alter his opinion of their behaviour, and to reinstate them in his good graces. There is extant, for instance, a letter, addressed by the Prince to the King, so full of glowing protestations of filial love, reverence, and duty, that, had one half of his professions really emanated from the heart, and his statements been correct, no parent could have been more tenderly watched over than was George the Third by his sons, and consequently no sons could deserve better from a father.* Speaking of the King's first alarming seizure, the Prince writes—"I repaired immediately to Windsor, and disregarding every other object, applied myself wholly to the care of a health so valuable, and to the alleviation of your Majesty's sufferings. Your Majesty stood, at that time, eminently in need of that care and vigilance which natural and strong affection knows alone how to render. I felt that the protection of a parent whom I have always loved, and whose heart I know has never been estranged from me, was become my peculiar duty. That duty I claimed and exercised as a precious, though melancholy, privilege, belonging to my birth, and conferred upon me by nature itself." Not only, continues the Prince, had it been his unhappy fortune, at that time, to witness the sufferings of a beloved father, but there had fallen upon him a train of cares, trusts, and duties for which he had had no preparation, but in the discharge of which he had happily been supported by the "constant, unwearied, and affectionate attendance and counsel" of his brother the Duke of York. "I deem it most fortunate," proceeds the Prince, "that I never was invested with the trust of conducting the administration of public affairs in your Majesty's name," and he adds—"In your Majesty's candid

* This remarkable though somewhat lengthy document will be found in Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. ii, pp. [illegible]. The person who drew it up for the Prince is known to have been Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards first Earl of Minto.

examination of my conduct I see the sure prospect of regaining the blessings of your love and approbation; and these I shall ever deem an ample compensation for all the disquietude which my enemies have hitherto succeeded in giving me."

But, energetic as is the language contained in this letter, a subsequent one, addressed by the Prince to the King, is marked by almost stronger asseverations. "We," writes the Prince, again speaking of the Duke of York as well as of himself, "have ever found your Majesty personally kind and good to us. We most solemnly and seriously call God to witness that we have felt your goodness with gratitude, and repaid it with affection and reverence."* These appeals, as has already been mentioned, were made to little purpose; to which cause, apparently, we are to ascribe the renewed insults which we find offered by the Prince to his father and mother.† From those insults even his innocent sisters were not exempted.‡ For instance, at one of the balls given on the King's recovery, he actually went so far as to glance contemptuously on the person of the Princess Royal, conveying the cruel insinuation that she was in the way of becoming a mother. Unhappily the foul insinuation was perceived by the Princess, who afterwards herself referred to it in conversation with Lady Harcourt.§ Lord Bulkeley, four days after the Thanksgiving at St. Paul's, speaks of the King's mind being "torn to pieces by his sons;" but it was the ingratitude of the Duke of York which naturally affected him most deeply. "It kills me," he one day

* Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. ii. p. 354.

† Between the Queen and the Prince no reconciliation took place till March, 1791. —*Memorials of Fox*, vol. ii. p. 355.

‡ "Under the mask of attention to their father and mother," writes Lord Bulkeley, "the Prince and the Duke of York commit every possible outrage, and show every insult they can devise to them."—*Buckingham Papers*, vol. ii. p. 153. At the great fête given by the French Ambassador to celebrate the King's recovery, we find the Princes declining to dance or stay supper, "lest they should have the appearance of paying the smallest attention to her Majesty."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 159.

§ Lady Harcourt's Diary; Massey's History of England, vol. iii. p. 406 note.

exclaimed, "it goes to my soul, I know not how to bear it * Yet still, writes Lord Bulkeley, he "fondly and dotingly' loves him †

It was at this time that an incident occurred which was not only an interesting one to the Royal Family, but which produced a strong sensation in the public mind On the 15th of May, on a field day of the Coldstream Guards, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Lennox‡ stepped up to the Duke of York on parade, and formally demanded from him an explanation of certain expressions disparaging to his character, which he had been informed had been uttered by his Royal Highness The Duke, being his commanding officer, very properly desired him to return to his post, reserving his reply, in the mean time, till after the parade, when he summoned Colonel Lennox, and the other officers of the regiment, to attend him in the orderly room The words which he addressed to the former were few and explicit enough He had no desire, he said, to derive protection either from his being a Prince of the Blood or as senior officer to Colonel Lennox When off parade he wore a grey coat, and, as a private gentleman, was ready to give him satisfaction if he pleased The result was a hostile encounter with pistols, on Wimbledon Common, at which Lord Rawdon, the intimate friend of the Prince of Wales, was second to the Duke of York, and the Earl of Winchelsea, a Lord of the King's Bedchamber, second to Colonel Lennox The Duke, who had determined on no account to discharge his own pistol, had a narrow escape from the fire of his adversary, whose ball grazed a curl at the side of his head Lord Winchelsea now endeavoured to induce him to afford some explanation to Colonel Lennox,

* Massey's History of England, vol. iii. p 405 note
† Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 153.
‡ Nephew and heir presumptive to Charles Duke of Richmond whom he succeeded in 1806, as Fourth Duke.

yet this he not only declined doing, but refused even to make the trifling concession that he believed his adversary to be a man of honour and courage. He had no animosity, he said, against Colonel Lennox. He had come there to give him the satisfaction he required. He had neither fired at, nor had he any intention to fire at him, although the Colonel might repeat his own fire if he chose. This alternative, of course, was out of the question, and accordingly both parties quitted the ground.

This anecdote, not uninteresting in itself, is further curious as evincing the unfortunate extent to which party feeling prevailed, even within the walls of the palace. The *facts that Lord Winchelsea, notwithstanding the active part* which he had played in the late duel, was allowed to remain a Lord of the Bedchamber, and that Colonel Lennox was invited to a ball which was immediately afterwards given by the Queen, are indisputable. It has even been asserted that the Queen received him on that occasion with marked attention.* How far the King may have approved, or disapproved, of these exhibitions of partisanship on the part of his consort, there seem to be no means of ascertaining. This, however, we know, on the direct authority of the Prince of Wales, that not only was the King far from being displeased at the contempt of danger displayed by his favourite son, but that, when he "took him to his arms" on the day following the duel, he manifested "every token of tenderness and sensibility which his situation could draw from the best and most affectionate father."† On the other hand, the Queen, according to the Prince, listened to the account of the narrow escape of her second son with calm indifference. "Your Majesty is my witness," writes the Prince to his father, "that, during the whole relation, the Queen did not utter a syllable either of

* See Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. ii. pp. 308, 346. † Ibid. pp. 348, 350.

alarm at the imminent danger which had threatened the *life of my brother but an hour before, of joy and* satisfaction at his safety, or of general tenderness and affection towards him, which might appear natural in moments thus affecting."* Evidently, the Queen's indignation at the treatment which her consort had met with from his sons had almost got the better of her feelings as a mother.

* See Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. ii. p. 319.

CHAPTER L.

Judge Hardinge's interview with the King—Royal Progress—The Court at Weymouth—Visits to Exeter, Saltram, and Plymouth—Return to Windsor—Death of the Duke of Cumberland—The Garter offered to Pitt, but declined—The Duke of Clarence's diverting conduct on the King's birthday—Miss Burney's account of her farewell to the Court—Suicide of James Sutherland—Marriage of the Duke of York—Reconciliation of the Queen and the Prince of Wales—The Prince's debts—Coolness between him and the Duke of York—Embarrassment of the Duke's affairs.

THERE are no circumstances, as we have already remarked, under which George the Third figures in a more advantageous light, than when we meet with him in the society of the wise, the accomplished, and the good; another example of which is afforded by the following graphic account from the pen of the accomplished Judge Hardinge, Solicitor-General to the Queen, of an interview with which he was honoured by his Sovereign at Windsor, a short time after His Majesty's happy recovery:*—

"I arrived at the Queen's Lodge at twelve, and was carried to the Equerries' room. Colonel Digby came to me, civil and gentlemanlike. He chatted with me for

* George Hardinge, Esq., was the son of the accomplished Nicholas Hardinge, Principal Clerk of the House of Commons. He was born 22nd of June, 1744, was educated at Eton and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge, where Bishop Watson was his tutor, and was subsequently called to the Bar by the Society of the Middle Temple. The interest of his uncle, Lord Camden, obtained for him the rank of Sergeant-at-Law; in 1782 he was nominated Solicitor-General to the Queen; in 1787 he was made a Welsh Judge, and two years afterwards, Attorney-General to her Majesty. He died, when on circuit, at Presteigne, in Radnorshire, 26th April, 1816, in the seventy-second year of his age. An account of Judge Hardinge and of his writings will be found in Nichols's *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. pp. 9, &c.

half an hour, and, when he left me, said he would le King know, through General Harcourt, I was there. a few minutes I was gallanted upstairs into Mad Schwellenberg's dining apartment. There I found G neral Harcourt, who is a very agreeable man. He to me that when the King, who was going to the Castle receive the Address of the Clergy, should come out of h apartment, he would let him know and receive his com mands. In a quarter of an hour two royal coaches came to the door, and an equerry handed the Queen into the first. The King followed her, without a thought, apparently, of poor me; Princess Royal and Princess Augusta followed. This filled the first coach. Number two had Princess Elizabeth and a bedchamber woman. Then, afoot, my friends Digby and Harcourt.

"When they were flown, the porter came to me and said General Harcourt had named me to the King, but that His Majesty, being in a great hurry, had said nothing; that, if I pleased, I might wait till His Majesty's return, which, the porter said, would be in an hour and a half. This, I thought, was as much as to say—If you go, you will not be missed. In half an hour Mrs. Schwellenberg's German footman came to lay the cloth, and produced the dining apparatus. For want of occupation I formed an acquaintance with *him*, and learnt that Madame Schwellenberg sat at the head of the table, the Misses Burney and Planta right and left of her, and any visitor at bottom. The room is pretty enough, and clean, but furnished with cheap kind of paper and linen curtains. Observing a rge piece of German bread, I fell to, and ate a pound it. The hour and a half having expired, the regals urned, and then I heard the Queen most condescendly say—'Do find out Mr. Hardinge, and beg him to e and see us.'

"Her butler out of livery came in to me, and desired m.

me to follow him. I went through a very handsome apartment into another most beautifully fitted up, with a ceiling of the modern work, 'done,' as the King told me, in a week. Into this room I was shut, and found in it, standing by the fire, without any form, the King, Queen, three Princesses, and this bedchamber woman, whoever she was; for I have not made her out, but liked her very much because she seemed to like me. It is impossible for words to express the kind and companionable good-humour of the whole party. I almost forgot that any one of them was my superior. The King looked fifteen years younger and much better in the face, though as red as ever. *He said a number of excellent things, and in the* most natural way. The Queen, with amazing address and cleverness, gave a turn to the conversation, and mixed in it just at the right places. You will believe me when I tell you that I passed half an hour at least in the room.

"The Princesses looked, as they always do, the pink of good-humour. The Princess Royal had a very fine colour. The two others were pale. The King did a very odd thing by the Princess Royal, but I loved him for it. He said he would ask me, as a man of taste, what I thought of the ceiling; and then called upon the Princess Royal to explain the allegorical figures on the ceiling, which she did—blushing a little at first in the sweetest manner—with a distinct voice and great propriety in her emphasis. This one trait would of itself demonstrate how very kind they were. The King began by asking me how I could run away from London and give up my fees? I told him that I never minded fees, but less when they interfered with my sense of duty to him. The Queen then came up to me, and said—'You have less merit in the visit, because a little bird has told me that you are on your way to your circuit. This produced the topic of my circuit, and the King said that he understood Moysey to be a good man in

domestic life. He then went slap-dash into politics, Queen and all. The King laughed heartily at the *Rats* by that name. 'They were the boldest Rats,' he said, 'he ever knew, for that all the calculation was against them. Even —— said it was probable I should recover. Not that *I am* recovered, according to *some* of them; and yet I have read the last report of the physicians, which is a tolerably good proof that I am well. By the way, your uncle is considerably better, and I flatter myself that *my* getting well has done him good.' I then said that I had left him in some alarm how he was to wear the Windsor uniform, with a tie-wig over it, from the fear he should be mistaken for an old General who had fought at the battle of Dettingen. The Queen said—'Oh! *I* plead guilty to that, and I see you enjoy it. I said,—Hardinge will enjoy it; for, though he is very good-natured, he loves a little innocent mischief.'

"The King then told me the whole story of the conference with Pitt; commended the House of Commons, and said his illness had in the end been a perfect bliss to him, as proving to him how nobly the people would support him when he was confined.* This tempted me to say that it was no political debate, but the contest between generous Humanity and mean Cruelty, and it interested human nature. The King seemed very much pleased with this idea, and worked upon it. I commended the conduct of the bishops, and it made them laugh. Said the King—'You mean to commend it as a *wonder*.' He talked over Lord North and the Duke of Portland. He talked of the Chancellor, of Loughborough, and even Mr. Baron Hotham; said—'You are almost the only man who loves the land for its own sake.' Then we talked of Mrs. Siddons, Jordan, &c., and the Queen said, 'Siddons is going to Germany, to make the English find out by her absence that she was good for something.' Then we flew to Handel, after which the King made me a most

gracious bow, and said—'I am going to my dinner.' I was near the door, made a low bow to the females, and departed." *

On the 25th of June, the King, by the advice of his physicians, set out from Windsor with the intention of passing the summer at Weymouth, and visiting the south-western portion of his dominions. If, before his illness, his subjects in the rural districts had received him with extraordinary marks of loyalty and love, their congratulations, now that he had recovered, amounted to positive enthusiasm. From the day of his departure from Windsor, to the day of his return, his progress resembled a triumph. Arches of laurels and flowers, bands of music, and the acclamations and blessings of assembled thousands, greeted him in every town and village through which he passed. "Girls with chaplets"—writes Miss Burney, who accompanied the Queen—"beautiful young creatures, strewed the entrance of the various villages with flowers." † On the confines of the New Forest, a band of foresters, in their habits of green, presented him, according to ancient feudal custom, with a couple of milk-white greyhounds, wearing silver collars and led by silken cords. During the five days that he resided in the old hunting-lodge of the time of Charles the Second, at Lyndhurst, his guard consisted of bowmen and archers, in appropriate sylvan costumes. Pleasant excursions were made to the several spots of historical interest, or of rural beauty, in the neighbourhood. On the 27th, on his way to Boldrewood, then the seat of Lord Delawarr, he stood on the spot where the arrow of Sir Walter Tyrrell had pierced the heart of William Rufus; and in the evening, on Hordle Cliff, near Lymington, he gazed on the wide prospect by which it is surrounded. Everywhere the same rejoicings

* Nichols's Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, vol. iii. pp. 15-17.
† Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v. p. 32.

tinguished by a kindness, a good-humour, and a condescension, of which it would be difficult to discover a more amiable example.

On the 30th of June the royal party quitted Lyndhurst for Weymouth, where they arrived in the course of the evening.

The Princess Elizabeth to Madame ——.

"WEYMOUTH, *July 2nd*, 1789.

"Je n'ai pas pû vous écrire avant aujourd'hui, ma chère Madame: le tems ne l'a point permis. Je vous assure que j'aurai bien voulu vous écrire quelques lignes de Lyndhurst, mais pendant notre séjour là nous nous sommes très bien amusé par les différentes courses que nous avons faites. Je ne crois pas que j'ai été plus de trois quarts d'heure à la maison pendant toute la journée. Nous avons vu Southampton, Lymington, Boldrewood, Hordle Cliff. Dans notre chemin à Boldrewood, qui appartient à my Lord Delawar, nous sommes passé un peu plus loin dans le forêt pour voir une pierre érigée par le père de my Lord Delawar sur l'endroit où il a vu croître encore l'arbre qui a reçu l'arc qui a tué le Roi William II. Le modèle de cette pierre est fait d'un morçeau de la racine de cet arbre.

"Vous ne vous pouvez imaginer la joie qu'on a montré partout où le Roi a passé. Je vous assure que c'étoit presque trop; partout on a chanté 'God save the King.' Je me suis bien amusé le jour que nous sommes arrivé à Lyndhurst, d'entendre dire à un pauvre homme,—'I am so sorry we have no band for the King: it is so hard he has no music, as he loves it so much.' Le jour après nous avons eu une trompette, dont l'harmonie n'étoit pas des plus agréable. Deux jours après, un basson. J'ai vu une dame à Lyndhurst qui m'a dit que les gens de Southampton et des environs de Lyndhurst étoient les meilleurs créatures au monde; qu'elle avoit elle-même à Lymington une maison où elle vivait plus de dix semaines sans jamais avoir la porte de sa maison fermée ni jour ni nuit, et qu'elle n'a pas même perdu une ruban. Adieu, ma chère Madame. Croyez-moi toujours votre amie,

"ELIZABETH."*

* Additional MS. 19,589, f. 5. British Museum.

and congratulations awaited him. So rapturous, indeed, —*so artless and disinterested—were the evidences of the people's loyalty, that* Miss Burney writes—"I assure you I cried twenty times in the day." Even in the small parish-church of Lyndhurst—which the King devoutly attended with his family—the congregation was unable to repress its enthusiasm, and instead of a psalm, substituted "*God save the King.*" "*Misplaced,*" *writes Miss* Burney, "as this was in a church, its intent was so kind, loyal, and affectionate, that I believe there was not a dry eye amongst either singers or hearers."* The King, on his part, seems to have missed no opportunity of doing good or of affording pleasure to others. Troublesome to him, as must often have been the pressure of eager crowds, the discordance of indifferent bands of music, and the various addresses and felicitations of the civic authorities in the several towns which he visited, he nevertheless cheerfully and uncomplainingly put up with every inconvenience; rewarded by the consideration that he was able to gratify his people, and happy so long as he saw those around him also happy. In every situation in which he found himself during his progress—whether, on the Sabbath-day, walking unostentatiously with the Queen and her daughters to the nearest village church—whether kneeling on the deck of one of his own ships of war, beneath a canopy of flags, with the binnacle serving both for altar and pulpit—whether amusing himself with witnessing the blue-jackets dancing their hornpipes—whether chatting with the mowers at Lyndhurst or the haymakers at Weymouth—whether drenched to the skin with his daughters in a rough sea in an open boat in Portland Roads, or sailing, all smiles and happiness, amidst a fleet of pleasure-boats beneath the rich beauties of Mount Edgecumbe—we find his conduct dis-

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v. p. 31.

tinguished by a kindness, a good-humour, and a cc scension, of which it would be difficult to discover a amiable example.

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* Additional MS. 19,589, f.

the stage as Rosalind, Lady Townly, and Mrs Oakley, while the inimitable Quin charmed the royal party in the 'Irish Widow,' the 'Devil to Pay,' and the 'Commissary'.* Among other persons of note who waited on the King, was Lord Eldon, at this time Solicitor General, who has bequeathed us the following anecdote connected with his visit. The King happening to express a hope to him that his advancement to the Solicitor Generalship had been advantageous to him in a pecuniary point of view—"I told him," writes Lord Eldon, "what was strictly true, that in annual receipt I thought I must lose about two thousand pounds a year," the future Lord Chancellor at the same time explaining to the King, that when engaged by attorneys in private cases they frequently left with him considerable fees of ten, fifteen, or twenty five guineas, whereas, if consulted by the solicitors of public offices on questions of international law, the laws of revenue, or other grave matters, they usually presented him with only three guineas. 'Oh!' said the King—"then for the first time I comprehend, what I never could before understand, why it has been so difficult to get any opinions from my Law Officers."†

On the 13th of August the royal party quitted Weymouth for Exeter, where they arrived the same evening. Again the King's progress was an ovation. Again enthusiastic crowds, triumphal arches, flying colours, and bands playing "God save the King," greeted him at the entrances of the different towns through which he passed. On nearing the Charmouth Hills the good naturedly alighted from his carriage, which he followed on foot, conversing familiarly with the delighted peasants, who had flocked thither to obtain a view of their sovereign. At Exeter all was joy and enthusiasm. "The crowds,"

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v pp. [illegible]

† Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i pp. [illegible]

writes Miss Burney—"the rejoicings, the hallooing, and singing, and garlanding, and decorating, of all the inhabitants of this old city, and of all the country through which we passed, made the journey quite charming."* At night the city was brilliantly illuminated.

On the 15th the King proceeded through one of the most fertile districts in England, to Saltram, the seat of a minor, the Earl of Morley. "We passed," writes the authoress of 'Evelina,' "through such beautiful villages, and so animated a concourse of people, that the whole journey proved truly delectable. Arches of flowers were erected for the Royal Family to pass under at almost every town, with various loyal devices expressive of their satisfaction in this circuit. How happy must have been the King—how deservedly!"† Saltram continued to be the King's head-quarters till the 27th, during which interval he made many excursions to places of picturesque beauty or historical interest in the neighbourhood. At Plymouth, which he visited more than once, he was received, at the base of a triumphal arch of evergreens and flowers, by a civic procession, who conducted him into the city amidst the flying of colours, the ringing of bells, and the roar of cannon. The ships of war in commission, the Dock and Victualling Yards, and the military fortifications, were severally visited by him with real interest and gratification. On the 18th he was a spectator, from the deck of the 'Southampton,' of a naval review of a squadron of seven sail of the line and a frigate. Visits were paid, on other days, to the famous beauties of Mount Edgecumbe, to the romantic woods and precipices of Maristow on the banks of the Tamar, and to the fair scenery and antique curiosities of Cothele. On the 27th the Court quitted Saltram for Weymouth, and on the 14th of September departed from Weymouth on its

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v. p. 48. † Ibid. p. 49.

return homewards The two succeeding days and nights were passed at Longleat, the seat of the Marquis of Bath, and the third night at Tottenham Park, the seat of the Earl of Ailesbury, at which place the bed in which their Majesties slept is said to have cost the noble owner of the mansion no less a sum than nine hundred pounds * On the 18th the King arrived at Windsor, where, after twelve weeks' absence, he was allowed the exquisite pleasure of again embracing the fair and engaging child whom he so tenderly loved "I have the pleasure of acquainting you, my Lord"—writes Queen Charlotte to the Bishop of Worcester—"that His Majesty is, thank God! quite well, that our sea excursions proved of great benefit to him, and that, in point of bodily exercise, he is very careful And, though hunting is not quite given over, yet do we readily stay at home when the clouds threaten us with storms We have also had very good accounts of my son Augustus, who must by this time have arrived at Pisa This tour is made for precaution, for his old complaint was greatly abated since last year, and he would himself rather have chosen to stay at home †

The following brief communication from the King announces the death of his brother, Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland, which event took place on the 18th of September, 1790, in the forty fifth year of his age

The King to the Duke of Orleans

"MON COUSIN, À ST JAMES, ce 23 Septembre 1790

"Je n'ai pas voulu tarder de vous communiquer la triste nouvelle de la mort de mon très cher frère le Prince Henri Frederic Duc de Cumberland, qu'il a plu au Tout Puissant de retirer à lui le 18 de ce mois sur les cinq heures du matin, après une longue maladie, et je ne doute nullement que vous ne preniez une part

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v. p. [illegible]
† Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. [illegible]

sincère et amicale à ce triste événement, comme de mon côté je m'intéresse à tout ce qui regarde la prospérité de votre maison; étant avec l'estime et l'amitié les plus invariables,

"Mon cousin, votre bon cousin,

"GEORGE R."*

Before the close of this year, the King, as will be seen by the letters which follow, testified how high was his sense of the services of Mr. Pitt, by making him an offer of the Order of the Garter, a compliment which, with the exception of Sir Robert Walpole, had never, we believe, been paid to an untitled commoner, since the days when Robert Dudley and Sir Christopher Hatton had knelt to be decorated by Queen Elizabeth. The honour, however, though coveted by the first dukes in the land, was respectfully but unhesitatingly declined by Mr. Pitt, as it afterwards was in our own time when pressed by King William the Fourth upon Sir Robert Peel.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"*Dec.* 12*th*, 1790.

"Having summoned a Chapter of the Garter for Wednesday, and Mr. Pitt not having been at St. James's in the course of the last week, I think it necessary by this means to remind him of my having offered him one of the vacancies of that Order. When last I mentioned it, he seemed to decline; but perhaps the conclusion of the dispute with Spain may make him see it in a different light, namely, as a public testimonial of my approbation."†

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"*Dec.* 13*th*, 1790.

"I have just received Mr. Pitt's letter declining my offer of one of the vacant Garters, but in so handsome a manner that I cannot help expressing my sensibility."‡

It will be seen that, at a mere wish expressed by Mr. Pitt, the King conferred the rejected Garter upon his brother, the Earl of Chatham.

* Additional MS. 21,404, f. 18, British Museum.

† Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, Appendix, p. xiii.

‡ Ibid.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"*Dec.* 14th, 1790.

"Mr. Pitt's note is just arrived, intimating a wish that I should confer the third vacant Garter on his brother, Lord Chatham.* I trust he is too well convinced of my sentiments to doubt that I shall with pleasure to-morrow give this public testimony of approbation, which will be understood as meant to the whole family."†

In the absence of any stirring or very interesting events in the King's history at this period, the reader may not be unentertained by the following Court scene which Miss Burney describes as having taken place at St. James's Palace on the occasion of the King's birthday, the 4th of June, 1791. The scene lay, after dinner, in the apartment of Madame Schwellenberg, the dreaded "Cerbera" of Miss Burney's Memoirs; the principal actors being the future King William the Fourth—recently promoted to be a Rear-Admiral, the correct and respectable Miss Goldsworthy, Miss Burney, Mr. Stanhope‡—one of the Queen's Equerries, and Mr. De Luc—a gentleman of eminent scientific attainments, and an especial favourite of the King and Queen. The Prince, as will be seen, was *unmistakably in a state* which Miss Burney describes as showing him "in genuine colours a royal sailor," but which his professional friends would probably have designated "*half seas over.*"

While they were still eating fruit, the Duke of Clarence entered. He had just risen from the King's table, and was waiting for his equipage to take him home to prepare for the ball. "We all," writes Miss Burney, "rose, of course, upon his entrance, and the two gentlemen placed themselves

* The two other vacant Garters were [illegible] Duke of [illegible] and Francis Duke of Leeds.

† Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. [illegible]

‡ Edwin Francis Stanhope, [illegible] hope. He married Lady [illegible], Marquis of Carnarvon, [illegible] Duke of Chandos. [illegible] formerly been Gentleman [illegible] Queen [illegible] 1832.

behind their chairs, while the footmen left the room. But he ordered us all to sit down, and called the men back, to hand about some wine. He was in exceeding high spirits, and in the utmost good humour. He placed himself at the head of the table, next Mrs. Schwellenberg, and looked remarkably well, gay, and full of sport and mischief; yet clever withal, as well as comical. 'Well, this is the first day,' he said, 'I have ever dined with the King at St. James's on his birthday. Pray, have you all drunk His Majesty's health?' '*No, your Royal Highness; your Royal Highness might make dem do dat*,' said Mrs. Schwellenberg. '*O, by —— ! will I. Here, you*,' to the footman, '*bring champagne! I'll drink the King's health again, if I die for it! Yet I have done pretty well already; so has the King, I promise you! I believe His Majesty was never taken such good care of before. We have kept his spirits up, I promise you! We have enabled him to go through his fatigues, and I should have done more still but for the ball and Mary. I have promised to dance with Mary.'*

"Champagne was now brought for the Duke: he ordered it all round. When it came to me, I whispered Westerhaults to carry it on. The Duke slapped his hand violently on the table, and called out—'Oh, by —— ! you shall drink it!' There was no resisting this. We all stood up, and the Duke sonorously gave the Royal toast. 'And now,' cried he, making us all sit down again, 'where are my rascals of servants? I sha'n't be in time for the ball; besides, I have got a deuced tailor waiting to fix on my epaulette. Here, you! go and see for my servants! D'ye hear? Scamper off!' Off ran William. 'Come, let's have the King's health again! De Luc, drink it! Here!

* The Princess Mary, afterwards Duchess of Gloucester, was to dance her first minuet in public at the Court ball in the evening. Miss Burney mentions her looking "most interesting and unaffectedly lovely," and anticipating the event with "a delight and alarm nearly equal."—*Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters*, vol. v. pp. 206, 210.

champagne to De Luc!' I wish you could have seen Mr. De Luc's mixed simper—half-pleased, half-alarmed. However, the wine came, and he drank it; the Duke taking a bumper for himself at the same time. 'Poor Stanhope!' —cried he: 'Stanhope shall have a glass too. Here! champagne! What are you all about? Why don't you give champagne to poor Stanhope?' Mr. Stanhope with great pleasure complied, and the Duke again accompanied him. 'Come hither! do you hear?' cried the Duke to the servants; and on the approach, slow and submissive, of Mrs. Stainforth's man, he hit him a violent slap on the back, calling out,—'Hang you! why don't you see for my rascals?' Away flew the man; and then he called out to Westerhaults—'Hark'ee! bring another glass of champagne to Mr. De Luc!' Mr. De Luc knows these royal youths too well to venture at so vain an experiment as disputing with them, so he only shrugged his shoulders and drank the wine. The Duke did the same.

"'And now, poor Stanhope!'—cried the Duke; 'give another glass to poor Stanhope! D'ye hear?'—'Is not your Royal Highness afraid?'—cried Mr. Stanhope, displaying the full circle of his borrowed teeth. 'I shall be apt to be rather up in the world, as the folks say, if I tope on at this rate.'—'Not at all; you can't get drunk in a better cause. I'd get drunk myself, if it was not for the ball. Here, champagne! another glass for the philosopher! I keep sober for Mary.'—'Oh, your Royal Highness!' cried Mr. De Luc, gaining courage as he drank, 'you will make me quite droll if you make me go on—quite droll!'—'So much the better! so much the better! it will do you a monstrous deal of good! Here! another glass of champagne to the Queen's philosopher!'" Even the dreaded "Cerbera" herself had a narrow escape from becoming a victim to the Prince's boisterous spirits. "Mrs. Schwellenberg," writes Miss Burney, "who had sat

laughing and happy all this time, now grew alarmed, an said—'Your Royal Highness, I am afraid, will be la for the ball.' 'Hold your potato-jaw, my dear!'—crie the Duke, patting her. But, recollecting himself, he too her hand and pretty abruptly kissed it; and then, flingin it hastily away, laughed aloud, and called out—'There that will make amends for anything; so now I may say what I will. So, here! a glass of champagne for the Queen's philosopher and the Queen's gentleman-usher! Hang me! if it will not do them a monstrous deal of good!'" Thus the light-hearted sailor continued to rattle on till his carriage was announced, when he took his departure, apparently almost as abruptly as he had made his appearance. When, on the next occasion of Miss Burney meeting the Princess Mary, she sought to amuse her by detailing the foregoing scene, she found that she had been anticipated by the Duke himself. "Oh!" said the Princess, "he told me of it himself the next morning, and said—'You may think *how far I was gone*, for I kissed the Schwellenberg's hand.'" The Schwellenberg, however, would seem to have been rather pleased with the liberty than otherwise. "Dat Prince William"—she said good-humouredly to Miss Burney—"him really ver merry; oders vat you call tipsy."*

It was only a very few days after the scene in Madame Schwellenberg's apartment, that Miss Burney took an affecting leave of the Queen at Buckingham House, on quitting her service for ever. The Queen, she writes, "had her handkerchief in her hand or at her eyes the whole time;" while Miss Burney, on her part, describes herself as having been so overwhelmed by the kindness and condescension of her royal mistress, that, on quitting the royal presence, she "nearly sobbed." Although the King and Queen were on the point of entering their carriage

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v. pp. 205-209, 211, 215.

on their departure for Kew, the kind-hearted and considerate King found time to seek the apartments of the Queen, for the purpose of offering his good wishes to one who, for five years, had been her constant, and, in some respects, her confidential attendant. "The King," writes Miss Burney, "came into the room. He immediately advanced to the window, where I stood, to speak to me. I was not able to comport myself steadily; I was forced to turn my head away from him. He stood still and silent for some minutes, waiting to see if I should turn about. But I could not recover myself sufficiently to face him, strange as it was to do otherwise, and, perceiving me quite overcome, he walked away and I saw him no more. His kindness, his goodness, his benignity, never shall I forget: never think of but with fresh gratitude and reverential affection."*

From the warm-hearted and unaffected daughters of George the Third, Miss Burney, during the whole time that she had resided under the royal roof, had ever experienced the most graceful and even affectionate attentions. Accordingly, the parting with them brought fresh tears to her eyes. "I took," she writes, "for the last July 7. time, the cloak of the Queen, and, putting it over her shoulders, slightly ventured to press them; earnestly, though in a low voice, saying—'God Almighty bless your Majesty!' She turned round, and putting her hand upon my ungloved arm, pressed it with the greatest kindness, and said—'May you be happy!' She left me overwhelmed with tender gratitude. The three eldest Princesses were in the next room. They ran in to me the moment the Queen went onward. Princess Augusta and Princess Elizabeth each took a hand, and the Princess Royal put hers over them. I could speak to

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v. pp. 223, 226.

none of them, but they repeated—'I wish you happy! I wish you health!'—again and again with the sweetest eagerness. They then set off for Kew."*

Aug. 17. It was not much more than a month after this time that the King was unfortunately a spectator of a painfully tragic scene, which is said to have affected him deeply. A gentleman of the name of Sutherland, who had recently held the appointment of Judge-Advocate of Minorca, had been engaged in a lawsuit with General Murray, the Governor of the Island, in which the latter had been defeated. The General, however, had sufficient influence to procure the suspension of his subordinate from his official duties, who accordingly returned to England, where he repeatedly, but in vain, appealed to the proper department of the State for redress for his grievances, whether those grievances were real or imaginary. Maddened, at length, by the sickness of hope deferred, and with penury staring him in the face, the unfortunate gentleman stationed himself, with a pistol concealed on his person, against the railings which separate the Green Park from St. James's Park, where a large crowd of people had assembled to see the King pass on his way to St. James's Palace. Waiting till the royal equipage had arrived nearly opposite to the spot on which he was standing, he affixed to the railings a paper addressed to the King, and then, pointing the pistol at his own breast, discharged it, and instantly fell. The King ordered that every care should be taken of him, and, on being informed that he had already expired, exclaimed—"May Heaven forgive him!" Although the poor suicide was decently, and even well dressed, in a suit of black, there-

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v. pp. 225, 226. "All the sweet Princesses," writes Miss Burney to her father on the 3rd of July, "seem sorry I am going. And the King, the benevolent King—so uniformly, partially, and encouragingly good to me—I can hardly look at with dry eyes."—*Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters*, vol. v. p. 217.

were found about his person only a few pence and a letter inscribed 'To the Coroner who shall take an inquest on James Sutherland"

On the 3rd of the following month, the King set out from Windsor with his family on a second visit to Weymouth, during his stay at which place he is said to have principally occupied himself in investigating the relative systems under which the Wiltshire and Dorsetshire farmers managed their lands. Here the Court remained till the 1st of October, when its return to London was hurried by the near approach of the marriage of the Duke of York with the Princess Frederica Charlotte Ulrica Catherina, eldest daughter of Frederick William the Second, King of Prussia, by a daughter of the House of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel. The marriage, it is said, was one of affection. They were united, in the first instance, at Berlin on the 29th of September, and subsequently remarried, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Queen's drawing- Nov room at Buckingham House, in the presence of all the Royal Family.

The King to the Duke of Orleans

'Mon Cousin, A St James, ce 12 Octobre 1791

'Je m'empresse de vous faire part de l'heureuse célébration du mariage entre mon très cher fils le Duc d'York, et ma cousine la Princesse Royale de Prusse, qui s'est faite à Berlin, le 29 du mois passé, et je me persuade que vous apprendrez avec une vraie satisfaction la nouvelle d'un événement qui me touche de si près. Je saisis avec plaisir cette nouvelle occasion de vous réitérer tous les sentiments de l'amitié sincère avec laquelle je suis,

Mon cousin, votre bon cousin,

"GEORGE R.*

A mon Cousin le Duc d'Orleans."

The new Duchess of York was formed to confer happiness on a husband. 'I believe and hope,' writes Lord

* Addit. MSS. [illegible]

none of them, but they repeated—'I wish you happy! I wish you health!'—again and again with the sweetest eagerness. They then set off for Kew."*

g. 17. It was not much more than a month after this time that the King was unfortunately a spectator of a painfully tragic scene, which is said to have affected him deeply. A gentleman of the name of Sutherland, who had recently held the appointment of Judge-Advocate of Minorca, had been engaged in a lawsuit with General Murray, the Governor of the Island, in which the latter had been defeated. The General, however, had sufficient influence to procure the suspension of his subordinate from his official duties, who accordingly returned to England, where he repeatedly, but in vain, appealed to the proper department of the State for redress for his grievances, whether those grievances were real or imaginary. Maddened, at length, by the sickness of hope deferred, and with penury staring him in the face, the unfortunate gentleman stationed himself, with a pistol concealed on his person, against the railings which separate the Green Park from St. James's Park, where a large crowd of people had assembled to see the King pass on his way to St. James's Palace. Waiting till the royal equipage had arrived nearly opposite to the spot on which he was standing, he affixed to the railings a paper addressed to the King, and then, pointing the pistol at his own breast, discharged it, and instantly fell. The King ordered that every care should be taken of him, and, on being informed that he had already expired, exclaimed—"May Heaven forgive him!" Although the poor suicide was decently, and even well dressed, in a suit of black, there-

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. v. pp. 225, 226. "All the sweet Princesses," writes Miss Burney to her father on the 3rd of July, "seem sorry I am going. And the King, the benevolent King—so uniformly, partially, and encouragingly good to me—I can hardly look at with dry eyes."—*Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters*, vol. v. p. 217.

spoke "coldly and unaffectionately," and of the Duke of Clarence in a very slighting manner. As for himself, he said, he stood higher than ever in the good graces of the Queen, but was on less satisfactory terms with the King than he had been some months previously. The reason seems to be obvious. Notwithstanding the Prince's former promises of amendment, he had persisted in his career of ruinous extravagance, and accordingly his pecuniary liabilities had again increased to an enormous sum. By his own account, his racing stud alone cost him thirty thousand a year. In a state of great nervousness and agitation, he intimated to Lord Malmesbury that he had had several executions in his house, that his debts amounted to three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, and that, unless the King consented to relieve him, it would be absolutely necessary for him to go abroad, and live on the income of a private gentleman. As regarded the Prince's altered language in speaking of the Duke of York, the occasion of it was explained to Lord Malmesbury, a few days afterwards, by the Prince's Groom of the Bedchamber, Colonel St Leger. "He called on me," writes Lord Malmesbury, "on the 8th of June. He said the Prince was more attached to Mrs Fitzherbert than ever, that he had been living with Mrs Crouch,* that she, Mrs Fitzherbert, piqued him by treating this with ridicule, and coquetted on her side. This hurt his vanity and brought him back, and he is now more under her influence than ever. She dislikes the Duchess of York, because the Duchess will not treat her *en belle sœur*. It is that, that is the cause of the coolness between the two brothers." The Duke's affairs at this time were almost in as bad a state as those of his elder brother.

* A handsome actress, on whom the Prince of Wales is said to have squandered large sums, and to have settled on her an annuity of 1200*l*. a year, the payment of which he subsequently disputed. See, however, Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Crouch by M. J. Young, (vol. ii pp. 139-144, London, 1806) where it is denied that there was any impropriety between her and the Prince.

Malmesbury from Coblentz to the Duke of P will make him happy, and please in Englan from handsome, but lively, sensible, and w and if one tenth part of the attachment th each other remains, it will be very suffici excellent *ménage*."* The Duke, much to h to the Queen the privilege, and with it of selecting the ladies of his wife's hou the good effect of such an attention," w bury, "it will relieve the Duke from of applications, and particularly su gested to the Prince to make him difficult for him to refuse, and, from Prince's society, it might be by n him to grant."†

In the month of March, 1791, it has been already intimated, had b to his mother.‡ "A gentleman, end of St. James's Park," writes March, "has been sent for by a house at the west end, and they h which he notified by toasting he club the other day. I know n glad of it."¶ It seems, howeve the Prince should for no length terms with those who would c comed him back to their affec in this respect is best expla Lord Malmesbury has beque private interviews which he

1792 month of June of the followin his Royal Highness's domestic discussed. Of the Duke and

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. p.
‡ Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol.
|| The Queen. ¶ W

CHAPTER LI.

Death of Lord Bute—Blindness and death of Lord North—Blindness and death of Colonel Barré—Pitt appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports—Thurlow dismissed from the Lord Chancellorship—Pitt's eminent services—His splendid speech on the Slave Trade—French Revolution—Effect of French Revolutionary doctrines in England—Dissolution of the friendship between Fox and Burke.

On the 10th of March, 1792, died, at the age of seventy-nine, the once powerful minister and envied courtier, John Earl of Bute. The neglect which, for nearly the third of a century, he had encountered from the world, presents, when contrasted with his former brilliant and coveted position, a sad and humiliating instance of the vanity of human greatness. To his old friend Home, the author of 'Douglas,' we find him writing on the 25th of March, 1773: "Think, my friend, of my son Charles being refused everything I asked! I have not had interest to get him a Company, while every Alderman of a petty Corporation meets with certain success. I am now in treaty, under Lord Townshend's wing, for Dragoons in Ireland. If I don't succeed, I will certainly offer him to the Emperor."* Yet it was not very long before the date of this letter, that Lord Chatham, in the House of Lords, had denounced the fallen and powerless favourite as one "behind the

* Life of Home, by Henry Mackenzie, Home's Works, vol. i. p. [illegible]. The son referred to by Lord Bute was the late Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Stuart, K.B. He died March 25, 1801, in his forty-ninth year. He was the father of Charles, created Baron Stuart de Rothesay in 1828.

Throne greater than the Throne itself."* During the last quarter of a century of Lord Bute's life, he appears to have principally resided, in almost complete retirement, in a marine villa which he had erected on the edge of the cliff at Christchurch, in Hampshire, overlooking the Needles and the Isle of Wight. "Here," we are told, "his principal delight was to listen to the melancholy roar of the sea, of which the plaintive sounds were probably congenial to a spirit soured with what he believed to be the ingratitude of mankind."†

> ". . . . populi contemnere voces
> *Sic solitus*: Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo
> Ipse domi."—*Horat.* Sat. I. lib. I.

On the 5th of August, 1792, died, at the age of sixty, another of the King's former ministers and friends, Frederick Lord North, who, two years previously, had succeeded his venerable father as third Earl of Guildford. Whatever may have been the errors of Lord North's political career, too much praise can scarcely be accorded to those social qualities and private virtues, to which, at an earlier stage of this work, we have attempted to do justice. His political opponent Burke has perpetuated the "infinite wit and pleasantry, the delightful temper, and most disinterested mind" of this most agreeable of companions and most amiable of men. He was by nature and education a person of no mean conversational powers. Those powers had been enhanced and rendered delightful by the advantages of an education at Eton, and afterwards at the Universities of Oxford and Leipsic; by protracted travel through the various countries of Europe; by having been all his lifetime a man of the world; by his classical tastes and fondness for literature; by his thorough knowledge of human nature; as well as from the graver anecdotes and facts with

* Earl Stanhope's History of England, vol. v. pp. 388, 389.
† Sir Egerton Brydges' Peerage, vol. ii. p. 579.

which, from his having filled the post of Prime Minister during one of the most stirring decades in English history, he was enabled to embellish his conversation. To these accomplishments and advantages may be added a happy art of accommodating his conversation to every society in which he found himself; a temperament utterly devoid of irascibility; a thorough appreciation and almost childlike love of the ridiculous; an ever ready, playful, and genial wit; an utter absence of all pride and ostentation; powers of raillery which he never suffered to wound the feelings of others; and, lastly, a freshness of feeling, a good humour, and a sweetness of temper, which not even the prosings of the tiresome nor the flippancies of the pert could ever ruffle. Generous, open-hearted, and hospitable, beloved by his personal friends and idolised in his domestic circle, delighting in the society of the young, and never so happy as when sharing the fun and frolics of his children, diffusing gaiety and happiness on all around him, it would be difficult to discover a companion more fascinating, or an individual more deserving of affection, than the well-meaning statesman to whose short-sighted policy are mainly attributable the bloodshed, the waste of treasure, the blunders, miseries, and humiliation, which were entailed upon Great Britain by her miserable contest with her North-American colonies.

Early in the year 1787 a palsy of the optic nerves had afflicted Lord North with partial, and threatened him with total, deprivation of sight. On its being announced that his recovery was impossible, the King — doubtless little anticipating that the same terrible infliction was in store for himself — is said to have expressed the deepest commiseration at the sad condition of one whom he had formerly loved so well, and in whom he had so entirely confided. On the monarch, however, the visitation of Heaven subsequently fell far more heavily than it had

fallen upon his minister. Unhappily for George the Third, his closing years were destined to be harrowed by calamities heavier even than blindness; while to Lord North was fortunately allotted a serene and painless decline of the vital powers, cheered by the tender attentions of the affectionate wife and gifted daughters of whom he was the idol. On the 10th of April, 1787, Storer writes to Lord Auckland that their afflicted friend is "all but blind," being unable to discover the colour of one wine from that of another. Still more melancholy are the accounts which Lord Sheffield writes on the 10th of the following month. "He has no hopes," writes his lordship; "he says he has no expectations but of darkness. He held up his hand and said he could not see it. He was, however, pleasant, and with his usual ability took up the subjects of the day. I was made the more miserable, as I expected to find him better. There is some consolation in his not being able to see the melancholy aspects of his family around him."* His charming daughter, the late Lady Charlotte Lindsay, has borne touching testimony to the patience and cheerfulness with which Lord North endured his grievous and almost sudden calamity.† Being of a nervous temperament, he was occasionally subject to depression of spirits, yet, when in the society of others, not even the most watchful of those who loved him could discover traces of dejection or irritability. Two persons—Richard Cumberland, the dramatic writer, and Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, who were severally much in the society of Lord North towards the close of his life—have corroborated the testimony of Lady Charlotte. "When I call to mind," writes Cumberland, "the hours I passed with Lord North in the darkness of his latter days, there was such a charm in his genius, such a claim upon my pity in the contemplation of his

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 409, 418.

† Letter to Lord Brougham; Lives of Eminent Statesmen, First Series, p. 395. Ed. 1839.

sufferings, that I could not help saying within myself—'The minister, indeed, has wronged me, but the man atones' His house at Tunbridge Wells was in the Grove One day he took my arm and asked me to conduct him to the parade upon the Pantiles 'I have a general recollection of the way,' he said, 'and if you will make me understand the posts upon the footpath, and the steps about the chapel, I shall remember them in future' 'I could not lead blind Gloster to the cliff'* I executed my affecting trust, and brought him safely to his family The ministering and mild daughter of Tiresias received her father from my hands" †

Another eminent political contemporary, whose closing days were darkened by blindness, was Lord North's former and most bitter public adversary, Colonel Barré That stern and remarkable man, whose fierce and powerful eloquence and acknowledged intellectual powers had once rendered him so formidable, was now as helpless as the good humoured minister whom he had so often and so ruthlessly attacked He is also said to have borne his affliction with a no less graceful and cheerful resignation When, on one occasion, they encountered one another, each led by an attendant, on the Pantiles at Tunbridge Wells, Colonel Barré, after some compliments had passed between them, happened to make some allusion to the political conflicts of the past "Ah, Colonel, gaily observed Lord North, "whatever may have been our former animosities, I am persuaded there are no two men who would now be more glad to see each other than you and I" ‡ Neither of them lived long after this interview, and

* Gloster.—"There is a cliff, whose high and bending head
Looks fearfully in the confined deep:
Bring me but to the very brim of it,
And I'll repair the misery thou dost bear
With something rich about me: from that place
I shall no leading need."
King Lear, Act iv. sc. 1

† Cumberland's Memoirs, by Himself, vol. ii. p. 31

‡ Wraxall's Memoirs of his Own Time, vol. ii. pp. 1[illegible]

they died within little more than a fortnight of each other.*

In the year 1792 the bodily health of Lord North began visibly to decline. Symptoms of dropsy manifested themselves; his appetite failed him; sleepless nights followed, and the depression of his spirits grew apparently more frequent and more distressing. It was in this condition, after having passed a painfully restless night, that he adjured his friend and physician, Dr. Warren, to acquaint him with his real state. Thus appealed to, Warren felt it his duty to intimate to him that water had formed on his chest, and that his days, if not his hours, were numbered. To the sentence of death, thus pronounced on him, he listened with the calmest composure. "He knew it," writes Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland, "and he continued calm and amiable to the last, and said he was thankful that he had a little time to settle his affairs and to comfort those about him."† Desirous of dying at peace with all the world, he sent to request the attendance in his sick chamber of two persons, Lord Auckland and Mr. John Robinson, by whose political abandonment of him he had formerly been much pained and offended, but with whom he now shook hands, and parted in a manner which afforded him complete satisfaction. "I saw him," writes Storer to Lord Auckland, "and conversed with him last Thursday night, *i. e.* preceding his death, and the last words which he said to me were—'God bless you!' uttered in such a tone as if he never expected to see me again. The benediction still sounds in my ears. One's heart must have been of steel not to have been touched with his situation."‡ From the moment that Lord North was informed that his case was hopeless, his constitutional serenity never deserted him. The depression of his spirits never returned. Cheered by the tender atten-

* Colonel Barré died on the 20th of July, 1792; Lord North on the 5th of August.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 426.

‡ Ibid. pp. 428-9.

ions of the beloved beings who surrounded him, he took a pleasure, to the last, in listening to his favourite passages in Shakespeare's plays, which were read to him by his eldest and accomplished daughter, Lady Glenbervie. He continued also to take the same interest as formerly in important passing political events. One of the latest sentiments which he breathed was an expression of gratitude at the prospect of his dying before the breaking out of the horrors which he foretold would be the result of the French Revolution. "I am going," he said, "and thankful I am that I shall not witness the anarchy and bloodshed which will soon overwhelm that unhappy country." Lord North expired on the 5th of August, 1792, at the age of sixty. However remiss he may have been in observing the outward formalities of religion, we learn that at heart he had ever been a sincere and pious Christian.*

The death of Lord North placed at the King's disposal the honourable appointment of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, a sinecure, tenable for life, and to which was attached a salary of 3000*l.* a year. The King, contemplating the possibility of his own decease, had long been anxious to make a suitable provision for a public servant who had served him so well and faithfully as Mr. Pitt had done, and accordingly, as will be seen by the following notes, he not only made him an immediate offer of the vacant appointment, but was determined not to receive a refusal.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

[Extract.]

"[illegible]

"Having this morning received the account of the [illegible] the Earl of Guilford, I take the first opportunity [illegible] Mr. Pitt that the Wardenship of the Cinque Port [illegible] which I will not receive any recommendation [illegible]

* Lady Charlotte Lindsay to Lord [illegible] Notes, pp. 301, &c. [illegible]

resolved to confer it on him as a mark of that regard which his eminent services have deserved from me. I am so bent on this, that I shall be seriously offended at any attempt to decline. I have intimated these my intentions to the Earl of Chatham, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Dundas." *

The King to Mr. Dundas.

"WINDSOR, *Aug. 6th*, 1792, $\frac{m}{32}$ p^t 7 A.M.

"The enclosed is my letter to Mr. Pitt, acquainting him with my having fixed on him for the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports. Mr. Dundas is to forward it to the West, † and to accompany it with a few lines, expressing that I will not admit of this favour being denied. I desire Lord Chatham may also write, and that Mr. Dundas will take the first opportunity of acquainting Lord Grenville of the step I have taken.

"G. R.

"Mr. Pinckney may have his audience on Wednesday." ‡

This flattering kindness on the part of the King could scarcely have failed to be highly gratifying to Mr. Pitt, who at once accepted the boon at the hands of his sovereign. To his friend Rose he writes from Burton Pynsent on the 7th—"I have had a letter from the King making the offer in the handsomest way possible, and have accepted." § To Lady Chatham also he writes a few days afterwards from General Harcourt's seat, St. Leonard's Hill, near Windsor —"I arrived here yesterday after a very pleasant journey, but, from the heat of the weather, too late to pay my duty at Windsor before dinner, as I had intended. I had an opportunity, however, of doing so on the Terrace in the evening, and of receiving a personal confirmation of every gracious sentiment which had been so fully expressed already." ||

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii., Appendix, p. xv. Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. 407.

† Mr. Pitt was at this time on a visit to his mother, Lady Chatham, at Burton Pynsent, in Somersetshire.

‡ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. 160. Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. 408.

§ Rose's Diaries and Correspondence, vol. i. p. 114.

|| Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. 160. "Immediately upon Lord Guil-

It was in the summer of this year that, at the instigation of Mr. Pitt, the King was reluctantly induced to dispense with the services of his surly old favourite, Lord Chancellor Thurlow. Pitt and Thurlow had never loved one another. There had been times, indeed, when they had occasionally met in the same convivial society—in those jovial after-dinner times, for instance, when they were fired at by the Tooting turnpike-keeper for galloping through his toll without paying, and when, at Dundas's hospitable villa at Wimbledon, their host used to ply the Chancellor with his "best burgundy and blasphemy, to put him in good humour." Even in those early days, however, we find Pitt denouncing the Chancellor as "a growler at everything, a proposer of nothing, and a supporter of everything." Thurlow, in fact, had not only disgusted the members of every Administration to which he had belonged, by his waywardness, his overbearing manners, and his domineering assumption of superiority, but, for a long time past, had given especial offence to Mr. Pitt by perpetually differing from him in the Cabinet, and, instead of affording assistance to the Government in the House of Lords, actually opposing and ridiculing the measures of his colleagues. It was under these circumstances that, on two different occasions—in November, 1789, and again in the same month the following year—Mr. Pitt had found himself compelled to lay complaints of the Chancellor's insubordination before the King, who, on each occasion, had contrived to patch up their differences. To Lord Auckland Storer writes on the 28th of November, 1789—"Much is said about the two Chancellors* being on ill terms; but Thurlow will keep his place, and Government will never

ford's death," writes Pitt to his friend Wilberforce on the 8th of August, "the King has written to me in the most generous terms, to say that he cannot let the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports go to any one except myself. Under all the present circumstances, and in the manner in which the offer came, I have no hesitation in accepting it, and I believe you will think I have done right."—*Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. [illegible]

* Alluding to Mr. Pitt as being Chancellor of the Exchequer.

turn him out. He will find fault and scold in all cases, but afterwards support the worst."* The fact is that Thurlow's great powers as an orator, the awe in which the Opposition Lords stood of his fierce and witty denunciations, and, lastly, the reputation for rugged honesty which he had contrived to win from the public at large, had invested him with an importance which, probably, under no other combination of circumstances, he could have achieved for himself. To Mr. Pitt the King writes on the 21st of November, 1790—"My sentiments can be conveyed on the whole of this matter in a few words. The state of the House of Lords is such that Opposition have many speakers; and, on the side of Government, only the Lord Chancellor and Lord Hawkesbury; for the Chief Justice, though a worthy man and able lawyer, does not succeed as a debater.† This shows how necessary it is to remove every cause of misunderstanding with the Chancellor, who is certainly to be gained by affection. With all his appearance of roughness he has a feeling heart, and that alone can guide him in contradiction to his temper."‡

That Thurlow, in persisting in his refractory conduct, not only greatly relied upon the personal favour he enjoyed with the King, but was also convinced that, in

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 378.

† Lloyd Lord Kenyon, who had succeeded Lord Mansfield as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was born in 1733, and died in 1802. The following extracts from Lord Kenyon's Diary have reference to the misunderstanding between Mr. Pitt and Lord Thurlow:—"*1788, June 19.* With Mr. Pitt by his desire, on the great coolness between him and the Chancellor, on Arden being Master of the Rolls against the Chancellor's inclination."—"Dec. 8. Dined at Lord Chancellor's. He in very ill humour with Mr. Pitt. I endeavoured to soothe him, and stated the impropriety of thinking of private quarrels in the crisis of public business."—"1789, March 24. With Mr. Pitt, to endeavour, if possible, to remove some of the grounds of shyness between him and Lord Chancellor."—"Nov. 26. With Secretary Grenville. Read from him the King's commands to endeavour to settle differences between Lord Chancellor and Mr. Pitt."—"1792, [May] 17. With Mr. Pitt at his request, when he informed me that, in consequence of the Chancellor's opposing his measures, he had mentioned to the King that one must go out, and the Chancellor was to do so. With the Lord Chancellor the same evening to hear the like."—"June 1. With Mr. Pitt about the Great Seal."—"June 15. Chancellor resigned Great Seal."—Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. v. pp. 677, 678.

‡ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. xii. App.

the event of His Majesty being compelled to choose between his two ministers, Mr Pitt would be the person sacrificed, there seems every reason to believe Events, however, proved how greatly he had deceived himself in his calculations "Your friend, Lord Thurlow," observed Lord North to Nicholls the author of the 'Recollections,' "thinks that his personal influence with the King authorizes him to treat Mr Pitt with *humeur* Take my word for it, whenever Mr Pitt says to the King—'Sir, the Great Seal must be in other hands,' the King will take the Great Seal from Lord Thurlow, and never think any more about him" * And so to a great extent it happened When—after years of "great forbearance and good humour" on the part of Mr Pitt †—the Chancellor's conduct became at length so intolerable as to compel the first Minister to represent to his Sovereign that either one or the other must withdraw from the Administration, the King, though he made a kind and earnest attempt to save his arrogant and impracticable old servant,‡ manifested no hesitation in giving the preference to Pitt, whereupon the Chancellor was informed that His Majesty had no further occasion for his services As might have been expected from the temperament of the surly lawyer, his anger and indignation were excessive "I did not think," he said to Lord Eldon—then Sir John Scott—"that the King would have parted with me so easily," adding, in allusion to Mr Pitt—"As to *that other man*, he has done to me just what I should have done to him, if I could"§ "I recollect," writes his friend Nicholls, "his saying to me—'No man has a right to treat another in the way in which the King has treated me we cannot meet again in the same

dat   Burges to Lord Auckland, 414.

‡ Letter from the King to Mr Pitt, dated 15th May, 1792 in Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p xv Appendix.

§ Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. p 213.

room.'"* Not only, however, do these complaints appear to be altogether unreasonable, but, as far as the King's feelings were concerned, we shall find him, many years afterwards, speaking kindly and even affectionately of his former Chancellor.

Mr. Pitt had been now First Minister of the Crown for nearly nine years, during which period he had performed great and eminent services for his Sovereign and his country. To his wisdom and firmness the King was alike indebted for a great share of his popularity, as well as for his long *emancipation from the haughty dominion* of the great Whig families. The country had no less reason to be grateful to the young statesman. From the condition of exhaustion and humiliation to which Great Britain had been reduced by the American war, he had raised her to be the most prosperous and envied country in Europe. Owing to his unwearying exertions, to his enlightened views in respect to commerce and finance, and his ready invention of resources, the public exchequer had become replenished, and trade and manufactures throve with unprecedented prosperity. In the success of his India Bill; in the measures which he carried through Parliament for the consolidation and diminution of taxes; in his provisions for the suppression of smuggling and the improvement of the Crown lands; and, lastly, in his laudable and far-sighted endeavours to bring about a commercial treaty with France on the great principles of Free Trade, we find unequivocal proof of his preeminence as a wise and enlightened legislator. He not only kept his promise of introducing into Parliament a bill for the improvement of the Representative system, but, "as a man and a minister," energetically and enthusiastically applied himself to ensure success to a measure which, as Lord Macaulay writes—"Lord Grey, at a later

* Nicholls's Recollections, vol. i. pp. 347, 348.

period, could accomplish only by means which, for a time, loosened the very foundations of the Commonwealth * Other wise and liberal measures were either carried or else warmly advocated by Mr Pitt In February, 1791, he supported a motion brought forward by Mr John Mitford, afterwards Lord Redesdale, for the relief of the Roman Catholics "Let the Statute Book," exclaimed Fox on that occasion—and Pitt coincided with him in the noble sentiment—"let the Statute Book be revised, and every iniquitous law expunged which attaches penalties to mere opinions!" In May following, these two great men again contended side by side in favour of Fox's famous Libel Bill, which extended to juries the same powers in *trials for libel as in the case of other criminal trials* † Neither, in the communications between Great Britain and foreign Powers, had the honour of the former suffered in the hands of Mr Pitt In 1787, the high tone which he adopted, and the vigorous measures which he took, compelled France to relinquish the designs which she entertained against the liberties of Holland Again, in the famous dispute with Spain, in 1790, relative *to the settlement on Nootka Sound, he forced the Court* of Madrid to withdraw its haughty pretensions, and to restore the territory which it had seized During the discussions on these momentous questions in the House of Commons, Mr Pitt had displayed his usual pre eminent ability no less as an orator than as a statesman But it

* Biographies p 196 See also Rose's Diaries vol. i. p 35 Mr Pitt introduced his Reform Bill into Parliament on the 18th April, 1785 It was thrown out in the House of Commons by a majority of 248 votes to 174. Mr Pitt however was not to be disheartened. Parliamentary Reform, he wrote to the Duke of Rutland, must I am still sure sooner or later be carried in both countries If it is well done the sooner the better —Earl Stanhope's *Life of Pitt* vol. i. p 256. The names of the members who voted in favour of Mr Pitt's motion as well as the places for which they sat in the House of Commons will be found in the Parliamentary History vol. xxv cols 475 4 8.

† Act 32nd of Geo III c. 60 entitled An Act to remove doubts respecting the functions of Juries in cases of Libel. —See Twiss's *Life of Eldon* vol. i. pp 206-7

been lavished upon him by his admirers It still remained, however, to be shown whether, in the event of a vast war, or the advent of fierce political convulsions, this great master of administrative abilities and parliamentary skill would display the same genius, the same courage, and the same command of resources, which in the tranquil times of peace, had rendered him the most successful and powerful legislator in Europe The day on which he was to be put upon his trial was fast approaching In France, a mighty people had become sensible of the cruel wrongs which, for centuries, they had endured from the tyranny and selfishness of kings, and from the grinding despotism of a privileged and demoralized aristocracy On the 5th of May, 1789, the day on which the French Revolution may be said to have commenced, the States General had met at Versailles On the 14th of July following, the memorable fortress prison, the Bastille, had been stormed and captured by the citizens of Paris On the 6th of October, the same year, the palace of Versailles had been attacked by a furious mob, and Louis the Sixteenth and his beautiful Queen carried, humbled and terrified, to the Tuileries, and lastly, on the 22nd of June, 1791, their flight from France had been prevented, and fresh sufferings and indignities heaped upon their devoted heads The worst, however, that could happen was yet to befall them

In England, the French Revolution, previously to its becoming profaned by wholesale bloodshed and barbarity, was hailed with satisfaction by all true lovers of freedom, and, among the foremost, by Mr Pitt In the great movement which was advancing in France, men perceived, not only the regeneration of that long oppressed country but the hope of its being the means of introducing more humane and liberal institutions into the other tyrannies of Europe "How much the greatest event it is," writes Fox, "that

ever happened in the world, and how much the best!" * Sir Samuel Romilly also speaks of it as "the most glorious event and the happiest for mankind that has ever taken place since human affairs were recorded." † By the celebrated Revolution Society the French Revolution was, of course, hailed with extraordinary enthusiasm. When, therefore, on the 4th of November, its members met to hold their annual commemoration of the birthday of William the Third, and of the triumph of those great principles which had raised the House of Brunswick to the throne, it was natural that the speakers of the day should dwell, in elated language, on the great victory which freedom had achieved on the other side of the British Channel. "I have lived," spoke out the eminent Dissenting minister, Dr. Price, "to see a diffusion of knowledge which has undermined superstition and error. I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever, and nations panting for liberty which seemed to have lost the idea of it. I have lived to see thirty millions of people indignantly and resolutely spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their King led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects. After sharing in the benefits of one Revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two other Revolutions, both glorious; and now methinks I see the ardour for liberty catching and spreading, and a general amendment beginning in human affairs; the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience." ‡ Not only were the French people enthusiastically congratulated by the Association on their triumph over despotism and bigotry,

* Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. ii. p. 361. Fox apparently alludes to the destruction of the Bastille on the 14th of July, 1789, his letter being dated the 30th of that month.

† Life of Romilly by his Sons, vol. ii. p. 2.

‡ Belsham's Memoirs of the Reign of George III., vol. iv. pp. 267-8, 2nd edition.

but an address to that effect was subsequently drawn up and conveyed by the chairman of the Association, Earl Stanhope,* to the Duke de la Rochefoucault, to be laid before the National assembly of France. As might be expected, the reply of that distinguished nobleman, as well as that of the Archbishop of Aix, President of the National Assembly, teemed with reciprocal expressions of gratitude and goodwill towards their foreign brother-labourers in the cause of liberty, humanity, and the extension of human happiness.† Thus did eminent and right-minded men, on both sides the Channel, congratulate themselves on the dawn of a revolution, which, though doubtless destined in the end to advance the happiness and dignity of the human race, was for the time productive of the most senseless and atrocious crimes that ever degraded civilization, as well as of the longest, most bloody, and ruinous wars which in modern times have devastated Europe.

But while the friends of liberal laws and institutions were congratulating themselves on the birth of liberty in France, it was natural that, as the true character of the French people and of the French Revolution developed itself, there should be many persons in this country who began to feel alarm for the safety of the Church and the throne. Even so enlightened a friend of freedom as Burke went no further than to express a cold and cautious approval of the new state of affairs across the Channel. He admitted indeed, that it was very likely to be productive of good, but, before committing himself by words of approbation, he wished to judge for himself, he said,

* Lord Stanhope, writes his acquaintance Lord Holland, "was, in some senses of the word, the truest *Jacobin I have ever known* He not only *deemed monarchy*, a clergy, and a nobility, but property, or at least landed property by descent, unlawful abuses."—Lord Holland's *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, vol. i. p. 35.

† Belsham's Memoirs, vol. iv. pp. 268, 269, 2nd edition.

whether the leaders of the movement in France were capable of using their tools in a workmanlike manner, and whether the French people themselves were ripe for freedom.*

As time passed on, and as one violent popular excess succeeded another in France, Burke not only saw no reason to regret his former guarded silence, but gradually imbued himself with a deep horror of French principles, and apparently an almost morbid detestation of the French people. To use his own impetuous words in the House of Commons, the new Constitution of France was to him "the unprincipled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy of a people whose government was anarchy and whose religion was atheism." † In his further opinion, not only were such Englishmen enemies to the State who looked with favour on the French Revolution, but he even included in his anathemas the advocates of Parliamentary reform. From these ardent feelings unhappily resulted the breaking up for a time of the great Whig party, as well as the dissolution of his long and memorable friendship with Fox. Fox, who in days of yore had been idolized by him as freedom's most eloquent and undaunted champion, was now regarded by Burke as the apostle of atheism and sedition. The story of the final alienation of these two great men is painfully interesting. On two different occasions in the House of Commons—viz. on the 9th of February, 1790, but more especially on the 8th of April, 1791, when Burke happened to be absent—Fox had given great offence to his old friend, not only by his democratic encomiums on the French Republic, and by ridiculing hereditary rank and titles as antiquated absurdities, but he had particularly offended Burke's pride as an author, by sneering at one of the

* See Prior's Life of Burke, vol. ii. pp. 41-7, 2nd edition.

† Belsham's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 272.

most beautiful passages in his famous work, the 'Reflections on the Revolution in France.' To this speech Burke had hoped to have an opportunity of replying on the 15th, during the discussion on the Russian armament. Fox, however, on that occasion, not only anticipated him by speaking first, but gave fresh umbrage to the illustrious statesman and orator by launching into the most enthusiastic laudations of the new Constitution adopted by the French people. In his judgment, he said, it was "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty that had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country." Burke, immediately Fox sat down, rose to reply to him; but it was by this time three o'clock in the morning, and accordingly, amidst mingled and opposite cries from both sides of the House of "Chair! chair! Hear! hear! Order! order!" he was compelled to repress the expression of his sentiments, though not his indignation. It was a scene, he exclaimed bitterly, which was only to be paralleled in the political assemblies of a neighbouring country.*

At length, on the 21st of April, on the occasion of a discussion on the Quebec Government Bill, the opportunity of reply, for which Burke had been so anxiously waiting, presented itself. It was his intention, as his friends were well aware, to bring into play on the occasion all his eloquence, his learning, and powers [illegible] invective, in disparagement of the principles of the [illegible] Revolution and of its admirers in England. [illegible] tion, if persisted in, must necessarily [illegible] connexion with the Whigs as well as [illegible] ship with Fox, and accordingly the [illegible] calling upon him at his residence [illegible] in the hope of being able to [illegible] It was, however, to [illegible]

* [illegible]

ceived him with all the cordiality of former times, spoke to him of the kind manner in which the King was said to have lately mentioned Fox's name, nay, even confided to him the arguments which he intended to make use of in the House of Commons against French principles and French devices. Burke, however, had fully convinced himself that he had duties to perform to his country as well as to his friend, and consequently Fox's words fell upon insensible ears. They never again, it is said, met in the same apartment; and when, at the end of their interview, they walked together to the House of Commons, it was the last time that the arm of Fox was ever placed in that of Burke.*

Seldom has a more important debate taken place in the House of Commons than that of the 6th of May, 1790. The paramount object of Burke was to warn and convince his fellow-countrymen of the danger of imitating the example of the French people; while, on the other hand, the Liberal party, afraid of the probable effects of his fervid and indignant eloquence, were resolved, if possible, to prevent his obtaining a hearing. Accordingly, throughout the fierce and eloquent invectives which he poured forth against the constitution and government of France, he was repeatedly assailed by cries of "Order," by hootings, and other offensive interruptions, thus producing an irritation in his mind which the language of Fox, when he rose to reply to him, was far from having a tendency to allay. The rights of the people, exclaimed Fox, were recognized in the Statute-Book. They were the basis of the British Constitution. They were inherent rights which no prescription could supersede, and no accident could remove or obliterate. These had been formerly the principles of his right honourable friend, from whose lips he had learned them, though he now ridiculed them as

* Annual Register for 1791, pp. 116, 117.

mere visionary notions Having been taught by that friend that no revolt of a nation was ever caused without provocation, he could not but rejoice at a Revolution which rested upon the same basis as our own—the immutable and unalienable rights of man

Again Burke arose to address the House A personal attack, he said, had been made upon him by one of the oldest of his friends "Certainly," he observed, "it is indiscreet at any period, but especially at my time of life, to provoke enemies or give my friends occasion to desert me, yet, if my firm and steady adherence to the British Constitution place me in such a dilemma, I am ready to risk all, and with my last words to exclaim—'Fly from the French Constitution!'" Fox here whispered that there was "no loss of friendship" "Yes," solemnly exclaimed Burke, "I regret to say there *is* I know the value of my line of conduct I have indeed made a great sacrifice I have done my duty, though I have lost my friend There is something in the accursed French Revolution which envenoms everything it touches" *

These words so sensibly moved the truly affectionate heart of Fox, that, on rising to reply, he was so overcome as to find it difficult to give utterance to his words He not only shed tears, but was affected even to sobbing During these painful moments not only did an impressive silence pervade the House, but there are said to have been persons in the gallery who declared there was not a dry eye around them When Fox at length recovered himself, he made a last attempt, in language equally manly and touching, to recover the friendship of that illustrious man whose disciple he had been proud to call himself Burke, however, was not to be appeased His upright and ardent, though prejudiced mind, shrank from a friendly communion with one whose principles he believed tended to

* Prior's Life of Burke vol. ii. p. 141

rebellion and anarchy, and, accordingly, thus mournfully was brought to a close a memorable friendship which had survived the vicissitudes of a quarter of a century.*

* Prior's Life of Burke, vol. ii. pp. 139, 141; Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. pp. 91-95.

CHAPTER LII.

Divisions among the Whigs on the subject of Parliamentary Reform — Revolutionary Societies in England — Equanimity of the King — Proposed Coalition between the Tories and the Conservative section of the Whigs — The King favourable to a Coalition — Vacillating conduct of the Duke of Portland — Changes in the Administration — Fox accused by his friends of breaking up the great Whig party — His name struck off the list of Privy Councillors — Pitt and the King severally averse to a war with France — Sufferings of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette

The eloquent writings and speeches of Burke, powerful as was the effect which they produced at the time, formed, after all, only one of the leading causes of the division which now took place in the ranks of the Whig party. The violent cry for Parliamentary reform, which was raised by one section of the party, was as strongly reprobated by those who were styled the "alarmist Whigs." There was doubtless much to be said on both sides. By the latter it was argued that a more unpropitious season for altering the representative system it would be impossible to select. At so critical a time, they said—when admiration of the doctrines of the French Revolution was no longer confined to a few wild visionaries—reform meant nothing more nor less than a subversion of the Government, and, if conceded, might draw down ruin alike on the Church, the throne, and the aristocracy. But the bolder and more liberal section of the Whig party argued very differently. The Constitution, they said, was notoriously imperfect in practice. Whether

from neglect or wilful corruption, abuses had crept into it which threatened its very existence. Was it not, they asked, alike an abominable fact and a crying and perilous evil, that no fewer than one hundred and sixty-three English and Welsh members of the House of Commons were returned to Parliament by the direct nomination or influence of seventy-one peers, and that one hundred and thirty-nine members were returned by ninety-one powerful commoners? If any danger, they argued, impended over the State, it was not from what was passing on the other side of the Channel, but from the lamentable condition of affairs at home, and from the want of that manly spirit of inquiry and resistance which the people of England had too long allowed to remain dormant in their breasts. That spirit, however, they insisted, had at length been happily aroused, and now therefore was the proper and seasonable time for reforming the national representation, and extirpating the many shameful abuses which defaced the Constitution. They complained, moreover, that their principles and intentions had been purposely misrepresented by the Government and by the friends of arbitrary power, who, for purposes of their own, had wilfully and cruelly chosen to confound them with the few impotent democrats and theorists who doubtless were to be found in one or two of the revolutionary societies of the day. Their object, they said, was not to destroy, but to preserve the Constitution; not to revolutionize the State, but, by effecting a timely, wise, and temperate measure of reform, to raise a bulwark which should protect the Constitution against the evil designs of those who meditated far more radical and sweeping changes.

Such were among the arguments of many of the wisest and most right-minded men of the time. "Unless some reforms be made," writes the excellent Wilberforce,

"though we should get well through our present difficulties, they will recur hereafter with aggravated force."* Such also was the opinion of Lord Grey. "Some time or other," he prophetically exclaimed in the House of Commons, "credit would be awarded to him and to his friends for their present opinions."† Tardily as that credit was dealt out, it was at length extended to him, when, after a forty years' crusade against bigotry and corruption, he triumphantly carried through Parliament, in the year 1832, that great measure of Representative Reform which he had so warmly, though fruitlessly, advocated in 1792.

There was another point upon which there existed a wide difference of opinion among the leading Whigs. While the alarmist section of the party approved and aided Mr. Pitt in carrying out those excessive measures of coercion which he unfortunately deemed necessary for the public safety, the ultra section of the Whigs denounced them as arbitrary, cruel, and impolitic. Those measures, they argued, amounted to nothing more nor less than an attempt to gag the Constitution, and were therefore fraught with imminent and lasting peril to the liberty of the subject. Arbitrary statutes were necessarily the preludes to senseless and cruel persecutions. As for Great Britain being permanently or radically infected by the wild doctrines and levelling theories adopted by the French, they treated the notion with the contempt which it seems to have deserved. They insisted that the danger had been grossly and needlessly exaggerated; that the desire for any sweeping political change was confined to the lower and uneducated classes, hounded on by a few political enthusiasts and needy adventurers; that it was an insult to the wealth and intelligence of the land to sup-

* Life of Wilberforce, vol. ii. p. 9.

† Life and Opinions of Earl Grey, by his son, the Hon. C. Grey, pp. 21, 22.

pose that they were not more than a match for the hal crazed speculatists and mob orators who were clamour ing for too extensive concessions; and, lastly, that s far from its being necessary to invest the Governmen with any extraordinary and unconstitutional powers, th law of the land, as it stood, was amply strong enough t protect property and to suppress insurrection and disorder

On the other side, the favourite old war-cry of the Tories, that the Church was in danger, was raised with its customary success. Easy enough it was—for the facts were incontrovertible—to point to the atrocious barbarities which were being perpetrated in France—atrocities at which the blood still curdles and the heart still sickens—and which, most unfortunately, were committed in the holy name of freedom. But here again the Liberal party had their reply. Indignantly they insisted that the present popular excesses in France sprang not from freedom, but were the results of tyranny and oppression. Indignantly they pointed to the recent nefarious partition of Poland; to the late menacing conference of the Austrian and Prussian despots; to the march of those imperial vultures upon Paris, and their evident design to possess themselves of the fairest provinces of France; to their notorious antagonism to the liberties of the human race; to their daring to dictate to a nation of freemen the amount of liberty which it was right or safe that they should enjoy; and, lastly, to the insolent and atrocious proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick, threatening Paris with total destruction, and its inhabitants with military execution. No! exclaimed the Liberal party in England; it was not freedom, but tyranny, which was responsible for the crimes of the French people. So debasing had been the infamous despotism under which they had groaned, as to have unfitted them to turn to a proper account, all at once, the inestimable blessing which they

had achieved for themselves But, because tyranny had produced this effect, and had made them slaves, was it to be endured that they were always to be kept slaves? "No!" exclaimed Sheridan, in an eloquent reply to Lord Mornington, in the House of Commons—"Wild and unsettled as their state of mind necessarily was, upon the events which threw such power suddenly into their hands, the surrounding States goaded them into a still more savage state of madness, fury, and desperation We unsettled their reason and then reviled their insanity *We drove them to the extremities that produced the evils we arraigned* We baited them like beasts, until at length we made them so The conspiracy of Pilnitz, and the brutal threats of the royal abettors of that plot against the rights of nations and of men, have in truth to answer for all the additional misery, horrors, and iniquity, which have since disgraced and incensed humanity Such has been your conduct towards France that you have created the passions which you persecute You mark a nation to be cut off from the world You covenant for their extermination You swear to hunt them in their inmost recesses You load them with every species of execration, and you now come forth with whining declamations on the horror of their turning upon you with the horror which you inspired"*

Whether, at this critical period in our history, the Constitution of Great Britain was exposed to the greater amount of danger from the example of French precepts and excesses, or, on the other hand, from the arbitrary restrictions which were imposed upon it by the Government, we do not feel called upon to offer an opinion Nevertheless, that high Tory doctrines were broached, and a stretch of power exercised, which were calculated to create equal alarm and indignation in the breast of every lover of

* Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. pp 236, 237, 3rd edition.

[illegible]

[illegible]

A third cause of the disunion in the ranks of the Opposition was the dissatisfaction felt by the Conservative section of the Whig party at some of their more liberal friends having joined the celebrated Society of the "Friends of the People," whose professed object was the correction of State abuses by procuring a large extension of parliamentary representation There were many well-informed persons, however, who believed that the Association contained much more dangerous elements, and consequently, when they beheld men of high social position, and of distinguished talent, league with individuals who were more than suspected of harbouring republican designs, it occasioned an amount of alarm which alike proved disastrous, for a time, to the cause of moderate reform, and assisted to justify the harsh repressive measures which Government had introduced Among the leading members, for instance, were Mr Grey, Sir James Macintosh, Mr, afterwards Lord, Erskine, Whitbread, Sheridan, Tierney, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Lords Dacre and Kinnaird, Lord John Russell, afterwards Duke of Bedford, Rogers the poet, Pigott, afterwards Solicitor General, and Leach, afterwards Vice Chancellor of England Although Fox never joined the Association, it nevertheless seems to have had his full sanction and support "During my father's last illness," writes Lord Grey's son and biographer, "when no longer able to walk, he used to be wheeled about the house in a chair, and on one occasion stopping, as he often did, before Mr Fox's bust, and speaking of the influence he had held over him, he added—'Yet he did not always use it as he

test of all dut es to
pprehens on which I
the const tution of
it which makes me feel it to be my duty to resist whatever can give to such des gns either strength, opportunity or countenance while you, on the other hand, believe in no such des gns, and believe the danger to arise from there being too little spirit of free in quiry and res stance in the minds of the people of this country"—Earl Russell's *Memorials of Fox*, vol. iii. p 63

might have done. One word from him would have kept me out of all the mess of the 'Friends of the People,' but he never spoke it.'" It was true, said Lord Grey of himself, that the political principles which he advocated in those days were not more advanced than those which he afterwards carried into law when first Minister of the Crown in 1832, but he added that, though not aware of the fact at the time, there were unquestionably certain members of the Association whose tenets were of so ultra democratic a character as to render it unsafe to hold communication with them. "On mentioning this circumstance to the late Lord Dacre," writes General Grey, "he told me he remembered Mr. Fox used always to say he did not like to discourage the *young ones*."* "I cannot," writes the King, in reference to the new Society and to Fox's violent language in Parliament, "see any substantial difference in their being joined in debate by Mr. Fox, and his not being a member of that Society." †

Disastrous as the spread of French revolutionary principles might possibly prove to the Crown and Constitution of Great Britain, we nevertheless find the King watching passing events with the greatest equanimity, as well as speaking and writing of them with temper and judgment. "He conversed," said Miss Burney, who listened to him in Madame Schwellenberg's apartment in April, 1790, "almost wholly with General Grenville upon the affairs of France, and in a manner so unaffected, open, and manly—so highly superior to all despotic principles even while most condemning the unlicensed fury of the Parisian mob—that I wished all the nations of the world to have heard him, that they might have known the real existence of a patriot King." ‡

* Life and Opinions of Earl Grey, by his Son, Lieut.-General the Hon. Charles Grey, pp. 10, 11. See also Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. i. p. 15; and Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. p. 22.

† Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. Appendix, p. xiv.

‡ Madame D'Arblay's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 100.

Similarly temperate and judicious was the language and conduct of George the Third during the disgraceful Birmingham riots in 1791, when, on the occasion of some political friends of Dr Priestley celebrating the second anniversary of the capture of the Bastille by a public dinner, the loyal population of Birmingham attacked the hotel in which the democrats were dining, and afterwards notwithstanding the doctor was not at the dinner, demolished his residence, containing his valuable library, MSS, and philosophical apparatus, as well as the chapels and houses of other Dissenters Although so strong a popular demonstration in favour of Church and State could scarcely fail to be highly gratifying to the King, we nevertheless find him insisting on equal and strict justice being dealt out, totally irrelative of all political considerations

The King to the Right Hon Henry Dundas *

WINDSOR 16*th July* 1791 28 min past 4 P M

"The sending orders for three troops of the 15th regiment of Dragoons to march towards Birmingham to restore order, if the civil magistrates have not been able, is incumbent on Government Though I cannot but feel better pleased that Priestley is the sufferer for the doctrines he and his party have instilled, and that the people see them in their true light, yet I cannot approve their having employed such atrocious means of showing their discontent" †

In order to render the next note from the King intelligible, it is necessary to observe that, of the persons who were convicted for their share in the Birmingham riots, three were hanged, and that a fourth, William Hands, very narrowly escaped sharing the same fate—one Hervey having positively sworn at the trial that he saw him pulling up the floor of one of the demolished houses After Hands' conviction, however, it was made manifest, almost to a certainty, that his real object was to extricate from suffocation some drunken men who were in a cellar be

* Mr Dundas was at this time Secretary of State for the Home Department.
† Quarterly Review vol. lxxix. p 51

neath, and accordingly the fact was brought by Sir Robert Lawley, a member for the county, under the notice of the Secretary of State, and afterwards of the King.

The King to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

"WEYMOUTH, 22*nd September*, 1791.

"The informations on oath of William Hands having broken up the floor of Mr. Ryland's house, with a view to prevent some drunken men from being suffocated in the cellar, seems so clear, that I cannot but coincide with the opinion of the propriety of extending that mercy to him which he undoubtedly would have received at his trial, had Hervey's evidence been given on the points now so properly stated. It is inconceivable how any one, possessed of so favourable a circumstance, should not have voluntarily produced it, even though not called upon by the Judge at the time. I trust no time will be lost in transmitting to Sir Robert Lawley a decision which must give him such reasonable pleasure.

"G. R." *

By this time, the King's feelings towards his old enemies, the aristocratic Whigs, had undergone a material change—a change partly owing to the common danger to which they were exposed from the advance of revolutionary principles, and partly that the King's dreadful malady, in 1788-9, had had the effect of greatly softening his political prejudices and allaying old animosities. On the 12th of December, 1791, Lord Auckland writes to Mr. Morton Eden—"It is impossible to describe to you how perfectly well the King is. He is quite an altered man, and not what you knew him even before his illness. His manner is gentle, quiet, and, when he is pleased, quite cordial. He speaks, even of those who are opposed to his government, with complacency, and without sneer or acrimony. At the same time he is most steadily attached to his Ministers. As long as he remains

* Quarterly Review, vol. lxxix. p. 518. The originals of this and the preceding letter were communicated by the second Viscount Melville to the late Right Hon. J. W. Croker.

so well, the tranquillity of this country is on a rock, for the public prosperity is great and the nation is right minded, and the commerce and resources are increasing "*

In the same degree that the aristocratic section of the Whig party grew more and more conservative in their language and opinions, they not only increased in favour with the King, but, in due time, it became evident that he would make no great objection to admit them to a reasonable share of power For instance, in June, 1792, we find Mr Pitt assuring Lord Loughborough that His Majesty would not only consent to, but would be pleased with, a coalition, a few days afterwards, in an interview with Lord Bute,† the King spoke of the Duke of Portland in the highest terms of esteem and regard, and again, on the 4th of July, his reception of the Opposition at his levee is described as having been "most gracious ' He was even heard to say at the levee that he had no personal objection to Mr Fox ‡

To the leaders of the Whig party, the project for a coalition was not less pleasing than it was to the King "Long tête à tête conversation with the Duke of Portland "—writes Lord Malmesbury on the 10th of June "He agreed that the circumstances of the times made a coalition with Pitt a very necessary measure " Accordingly, within the next three days, the project was communicated by the Duke of Portland to Fox, who, though he seems to have been somewhat hurt at the first advances not having been made directly to himself, nevertheless admitted how desirable it was that a union of parties should be effected § He required no more, he said, than that the measure should bear

* Auckland Correspondence vol. ii. p 396.

† John, 4th Earl and first Marquis of Bute was born in July, 1[illegible]44 and died 10th November 1814

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 4[illegible]6 43[illegible] 43[illegible]. 2nd edition. Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt vol. ii. p 118

§ According to Lord Holland (*Memoirs of the Whig Party* vol. i. p. [illegible]0 note) a secret meeting took place about this time between Pitt and Fox, but no particulars relating to it have been handed down to posterity

no appearance of the Whigs having *acceded* to Mr. Pitt's ministry, and that both parties should share, on equal terms, the power and patronage of office. The post which Fox's friends would have preferred for him was the Secretaryship for Foreign Affairs, but to this arrangement objections were raised in the royal closet. Though the King, as Lord Loughborough was authorized to tell the Opposition, had entirely forgotten "*everything else*," yet Mr. Fox's recent language and conduct in Parliament deprived him of the power of offering him the appointment till after the lapse of a few months.*

Whether Fox was offended at this marked exclusion from power, or whether he was over-persuaded by his political friends, certain it is, that he not only suddenly began to raise obstacles against the proposed coalition, but that the great influence which he possessed over the Duke of Portland was employed to induce his Grace to adopt the views of the ultra Whigs. According to Lord Malmesbury, who met Fox at dinner at Lord Loughborough's on the 16th of June—"He [Fox] contended that it was impossible ever to suppose that Pitt would admit him to an equal share of power, and that, whatever might be his own feelings or readiness to give way, he could not, for the sake of the honour *and pride* of the party, come in on any other terms. Pitt *must* have the Treasury, and he, on his part, had friends in the House of Commons he *must* attend to. These friends I conceived to be Sheridan,† Grey, Erskine, and Lord Robert Spencer. After stating these doubts and difficulties, and dwelling on them with a

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 420, 425, 426, 430, 2nd edition.

† "Fox," writes the Archbishop of Canterbury on the 22nd of May, "is supposed to give himself up entirely to Sheridan."—Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 408. "Lord Fitzwilliam," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 18th of June, "expressed his dislike to Sheridan; said he might have a lucrative place, but never could be admitted to one of trust and confidence."—*Lord Malmesbury's Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 431. Thus Sheridan was not unlikely to do his utmost to prevail upon Fox to decline taking a seat in a *Cabinet* from which it is evident that he himself was to be excluded.

degree of peevishness and obstinacy very unlike him, he, however, ended by saying that he *loved coalitions*, that, as a party man, he thought it a good thing for his party to come into office, were it only for a month, and that, under the particular circumstances of the country, he thought it of very great importance that a strong administration should exist He reasoned on foreign politics with his usual ability, and on the same system as formerly When we got to Burlington House he was not inclined to speak, and it was with great difficulty I could lead him and the Duke of Portland into discourse Fox repeated nearly what he said to me on the way, spoke with acrimony of Pitt, and repeatedly said the pride of the party must be saved I observed purposely, that I conceived, if the Duke of Portland and he were agreed, they necessarily must lead the party, and that *all* their friends would follow them The Duke seemed to acquiesce, but Fox was silent and embarrassed, and said, with a degree of harshness very unlike his usual manner, that he did not believe that Pitt was sincere, and that, even if he was sincere, he did not believe any coalition could take place '*

Thus, principally through the antagonism of Fox, was this important negotiation temporarily prevented—a failure the more to be regretted, since both Fox and the Duke of Portland still remained of opinion that the exigencies of the State required a coalition On the 21st of June, for instance, we find Fox speaking of it as "so d——d right a thing that it must be done,' and again, on the 27th of July, the Duke writes to Lord Malmesbury that he con

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. pp 428 429 2nd edition. Lord Malmesbury again writes on the 1[illegible]th of June Lord Loughborough called on me He related very accurately all that had passed between him, Pitt, and Dundas, on the Thursday It was nearly what I had before heard from the Duke of Portland. Pitt he said, wore every appearance of sincerity and frankness that in speaking to him and in listening to him he started no difficulties or objections but assured him it was his wish to unite cordially and heartily not in the way of bargain, but to form a strong and united ministry "—Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 429 430

siders it of such importance to the country, that he should be sorry to omit any means of carrying it into execution.* The conditions, however, on which alone the Duke and Fox could be brought to negotiate were so exorbitant, that neither the King nor the public were likely to listen to them with patience. "Fox," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 30th of July, "made Pitt's quitting the Treasury a *sine quâ non*, and was so opinionative and fixed about it, that it was impossible even to reason with him on the subject."† It may be mentioned that, of the leaders of the Whig party, Earl Fitzwilliam agreed with Fox and the Duke of Portland that Pitt's removal from the head of the Treasury was absolutely requisite, while, on the other hand, Lords Loughborough and Malmesbury considered it not only an unnecessary but an unreasonable proposition. Pitt, writes Storer to Lord Auckland, *must* be first, and Fox *cannot* be second.‡ When, on the 22nd of June, Lord Malmesbury sat down to breakfast with Edmund Burke, he found him highly incensed against Fox and his obstructive policy. There was no doing *without* Fox, he observed, and nothing could be done *with* him. "Mr. Fox's coach," he said, "stopped the way."§

But though these remarkable negotiations were thus broken off, events subsequently occurred which led, before the close of the year, to their renewal. The times, critical as they had been in June, had become far more so in December. Louis the Sixteenth was on the eve of his trial and execution. A war with France was, in the opinion of many persons, inevitable. Sedition also was rife at home, and consequently, in the judgment of the great mass of reflecting people, the State had never stood in greater need of a happy union of political parties. Failure, as was well known, was certain to be the result

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 432, 437, 2nd edition.

† Ibid. pp. 434, 439, 440.

‡ Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 412.

§ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 433.

of any further attempt at negotiation with Fox, and accordingly the next step of the conservative Whigs was to endeavour to detach the Duke of Portland from the influence of his impracticable friend Over and over again they pointed out to his Grace the perilous tendency of Fox's advocacy of French principles, the ruin with which it threatened the country, and the discredit which their continued political connexion with Fox reflected upon themselves, both individually and as a party Day after day, they implored the vacillating Duke to act a manly and resolute part by openly avowing, in his place in Parliament, his attachment to those conservative principles which they were all aware he entertained in private "The only word we could draw forth," writes Lord Malmesbury, speaking of one of these occasions, "was that he was against anything that could widen the breach, and put it out of Fox's power to return, and drive him into desperate opposition I, although I have often seen him benumbed and paralyzed, never saw him, or any one else, so completely so before All was one dead silence on his part He seemed in a trance, and nothing could be so painful as these two hours '* The Duke admitted, indeed—not on this, but on another occasion—that the interests of the country, as well as of his party, demanded from him a public intimation of his having separated himself from Fox and the ultra Whigs, but so great, he said, was his "private affection and attachment to Mr Fox'—such his "predilection and tenderness' for him—that, weak as he knew it to be, he shrank with the most poignant reluctance from severing ties which had so long bound them to one another † Nevertheless, day after day, the Duke's friends continued to importune him with their arguments and remonstrances By his keeping aloof, they said, from the moderate Whigs, he would become

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 412. † Ibid. pp. 453, 454.

"partaker of Fox's bad reputation and unpopularity." He was their leader, they told him, and they wished to retain him as their leader; but unless he stood boldly forward as their recognized chief, he "might expect soon to hear more on the subject." As for Fox, they said that though they, too, personally loved him and reverenced his talents, yet they would no longer endure his being regarded by the world as their leader, thus to all appearance countenancing and identifying themselves with his principles.

At length, the Duke not only showed himself inclined to listen to reason, but a promise was wrung from him that, at the first opportunity which might occur in the House of Lords, he would signify his approval of the policy pursued by the Government, and, further, that his son Lord Tichfield should follow his example in the House of Commons. Such an opportunity occurred only two days afterwards, during the progress of the Alien Bill through the Upper House, but, although the eyes of the Duke's friends were fixed encouragingly and anxiously upon him, and notwithstanding Lord Malmesbury, who sat by his side, repeatedly urged him to rise, though it were only to utter a few words, he remained motionless and speechless as a statue. "Lord Loughborough," writes Lord Malmesbury, "answered in one of the finest speeches possible, but the Duke of Portland, to the great concern and grief of his friends, did not say a word." That same day, Lord Malmesbury happened to dine *tête-à-tête* with the Duke. "I had not the heart or courage," he writes, "to talk to him on the subject. I perceived how greatly he felt embarrassed, and could not bring myself to distress him more by telling him how unfairly he had disappointed his friends, and how much he had committed me by authorizing me to say he certainly would speak. He was so very uncomfortable that it would have been cruel to have plagued him, and although he saw, by my silence

manner, how much hurt and afflicted I was at his ng done nothing, yet I saved him the humiliation making him confess his own weakness. Fox came in out half-past ten. The Duke kept him waiting as long I stayed."*

In consequence of this prolonged and lamentable vacil- ation on the part of the Duke of Portland, his friends— opeless, apparently, of being able to act with him—re- solved to act without him. To Lord Auckland, Lord Sheffield writes on the 5th of February, 1793—"I had nothing par- ticular to say, neither have I now, except that Opposition, as lately called, seems suspended in a comical state, the Duke of Portland adhering to Charles Fox, and all the party, except a very select few, opposing the said Charles."† No further time was now lost in making terms with Mr. Pitt. Of the leading Whigs, one of the first to abandon the standard of Fox was the Prince of Wales, who not only sent a written intimation to the Duke of Portland of his intention "to join Government,"‡ but, in his place in the House of Lords, declared his secession from the principles of which his "dear Charles" was the uncompromising advocate. Pitt and his new friends were no long time in coming to an understanding. The Great Seal, which had been in commission since the dismissal of Thurlow, was conferred upon Lord Loughborough. In the following year, Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed President of the Council; Earl Spencer became Lord Privy Seal; Lord Porchester, who had formerly declined joining the Society of the "Friends of the People" *because it was not sufficiently republican for him*,§ was created Earl of Car-

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 456.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 495.

‡ Buckingham Papers, vol. ii. p. 23

§ Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. i. p. 14. "In a few months," writes Lord Holland, "he publicly arraigned it as seditious, and obtained the Earldo of Carnarvon; on which Mr. Fox pleasantly observed, that he was right in saying th the Association was not so republican as he wished, as, if it had been, he would proba have got a Marquisate."

narvon; while to Burke, at the express suggestion, it is said, of the King, was awarded a pension of 1200*l.* a year out of the Civil List, and afterwards a further allowance of 2500*l.* a year from the Four-and-a-half per Cent. Fund.* Neither did any great length of time elapse before the Duke of Portland recovered from his irresolution. His Grace, who, when Lord Loughborough accepted the Great Seal, had been the first to hold him up to reprobation, now submitted—to use Lord Holland's words—"to humiliations infinitely more disgraceful"† by accepting from the hands of his rival Pitt the post of Secretary of State for the Home Department and the Order of the Garter. "Are you not afraid of being outvoted in your own Cabinet?" inquired Speaker Addington of Mr. Pitt. "No," was the answer; "I am under no anxiety on that account. I place much dependence on my new colleagues, and I place still more dependence on myself."‡

Thus, in consequence of the defection of the aristocratic section of the Whig party, were Fox and a few ardent associates left, unsupported by wealth and power, to fight by themselves the battle of the People. Thus, to use the words of Earl Russell—"his party broken, his popularity gone, his friends deserting him, his eloquence useless, his name held up to detestation"—was this gifted and once idolized statesman left almost alone to bear "aloft the standard of Whiggism amid the attacks of his enemies and the desertion of his followers."§ "Mr. Fox is left alone," writes Storer to Lord Auckland, on the 11th of January, 1793, "or at least with a poor epitome of his former followers. Opposition, in a word, is shivered to pieces."‖ "Charles Fox," observed a lady of great sagacity, "is a very clever and highly-gifted man, but he

* Prior's Life of Burke, vol. ii. pp. 333, 334, 2nd edition.
† Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. i. pp. 23, 24.
‡ Dean Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 121.
§ Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. p. 24. ‖ Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 487.

has never discovered the great secret that John Bull is a Tory by nature"*

That the great Whig phalanx should be broken up without giving rise to bitter recriminations and painful charges and countercharges amongst former personal as well as political friends, was scarcely to be expected On the one hand, Fox, and his small band of political followers charged the seceding Whigs with being traitors to the great cause, and to the great party which had advocated liberal and constitutional principles since the year 1688 So far, they insisted, from their entertaining the slightest intention to subvert monarchy and religion, their doctrines were identical with those which, one hundred years previously, had been advocated by Locke in defence of the title of William of Orange to the throne Ridiculing the notion that either the Country or the Constitution was in danger, they continued to insist, not only that the prevailing alarm had been artfully fomented, if not generated, by Ministers and their friends, but that the aristocratic section of the Whigs had, by joining in that alarm, enabled the Government to enact those arbitrary coercive restrictions on the liberty of the subject, which, without Whig support, it would never have been in their power to carry through Parliament Certainly, if we may judge from the private correspondence of the period, there was no want of loyalty in England at this time, nor was admiration of French principles so deeply rooted, or so widely spread, as the alarmists would have had the world believe "The late horrors in France," writes Mr J Bland Burges to Lord Auckland, "have at least been attended with one good consequence, for they have turned the tide of general opinions here very suddenly French principles and even French

* Sir Walter Scott's Prose Works, vol. iv p. 533

men are daily becoming more unpopular."* In like language of confidence, the Archbishop of Canterbury writes to Lord Auckland—"You will have observed, since my last, indications in abundance, firm and decisive, of the increased loyalty and zeal of this country in support of the King and Constitution. It pervades the country to such a degree that whatever there is of a different sort in the kingdom is silent and concealed, and, I am persuaded, it is of a very small extent, comparatively speaking."†—"'The Constitution,'" writes Lord Sheffield, "most fortunately is become the word, and it is as much a favourite as 'Liberty, Property, and No Excise,' or any other word ever was."‡

In the mean time, while one section of the Liberal party was charging the other with Toryism and timidity, the other and more Conservative section had not been backward in laying the whole blame of their separation upon Fox and his friends. By their democratic language, argued the seceders, they had led the country to the verge of Revolution. By their unseasonable advocacy of Parliamentary reform they had alarmed the friends of moderate liberty, and thus had done more harm than good to the cause in which each and all of them had been interested. But—as may readily be imagined—it was upon Fox personally that their anathemas principally descended. "How entirely," writes Lord Malmesbury, "he has broken up the party! How much he has made his best friends, and those towards whom he had obligations of the deepest nature, partakers of the consequences of his ill-judged conduct!"§ "The extravagance of Charles Fox," writes Lord Sheffield, "has broken every party t[illegible] nd again Storer writes to Lord Auckland—

* [illegible] ol. ii. p. 446. † Ibid. p. 478.
‡ [illegible] § Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 468.
[illegible] p. 496.

"His most Christian Majesty, alas! who has lost his head, is not now more to be pitied than Charles, who remains a head forsaken and alone Opposition is splintered into a thousand pieces, and 'God save the King' is so much the prevailing tune, that even the dances at the Opera are composed to the loyal air, and 'King and Constitution figures in the heads and caps of our well dressed ladies *

The great Whig party was indeed broken up When, some forty years afterwards, a dinner was given to the venerable member for Middlesex, George Byng, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his having sat in Parliament for that county, he alluded with much pleasantry to the state of the Whig party in his youth "It has been asserted,' he said, "that the Whigs would all have been held in one hackney coach This is a calumny We should have filled two † So also Lord Bexley wrote to Dean Pellew—"You may judge of their numbers by the circumstance that they generally went home to dinner with Tyrwhitt Jones in his coach ‡ According to Lord Sheffield, the party was reduced to "Grey's reformers,' and to half a dozen wrongheaded men, who always took the strange side of a question '§

Fox's separation from his political friends not only sadly ruffled his naturally even and forgiving temper, but was the occasion, apparently, of his committing extravagancies, which in his more reasonable moments he probably regretted "There is no Address at this moment'—he one day exclaimed with an oath—"which Pitt could frame, that I would not propose an amendment to and divide the House upon '‖ The political sentiments which he expressed, not only in public, but among his personal

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 493.
† Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. v p 614 note.
‡ Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth vol. ii. p 135
§ Auckland Correspondence vol. ii. p 485
‖ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. p 442

friends, certainly bordered on republicanism. "On Friday night," writes Lord Sheffield, "Charles told us distinctly that the sovereignty was absolutely in the people; that the monarchy was elective—otherwise the dynasty of Brunswick had no right—and that when a majority of the people thought another kind of government preferable, they undoubtedly had a right to cashier the King."* Again, Lord Malmesbury writes—"His principles bore the strongest marks of a leaning towards Republicanism, and he expressed them almost as strongly to us collectively as he had done before to me alone when at St. Anne's Hill, and in St. James's Square."† On one occasion we find him emphatically drinking to the "Majesty of the People," and on another occasion holding such violent democratic language at a loyal association in St. George's parish, that he was very nearly being thrust out of the room. "A sensible man who sat next to him," writes the Archbishop of Canterbury, "assured me of this; and that from the compression of his teeth, in order to conceal his agitation, his cheeks shook as if he was under a fit of an ague."‡

Although the King had reason enough to be incensed at Fox's conduct at this period, still it was not till a later date that he adopted the summary step of erasing his name from the list of Privy Councillors. The following curious memoranda are transcribed from the MS. books in the Privy Council Office :—

"ST. JAMES'S, *9th May*, 1798.

"This day His Majesty in Council, having ordered the Council book to be laid before him, the name of the Honourable Charles James Fox was erased from the list of Privy Councillors."

In the MS. nominal list of Privy Councillors, the stroke

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 496.
† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 441.
‡ Auckland Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 479.

of a pen runs through the name of Charles Fox, against which are the following words in the handwriting of the Clerk of the Council —

"Struck out by His Majesty in Council with his own hand, on the 9th of May, 1798 W FAULKENER '

The immediate occasion of the King's anger is supposed to have been a democratic toast proposed by Fox at a dinner at the Whig Club—"To the sovereignty of the People of Great Britain *

Great Britain was now on the eve of the longest, the most expensive, and most sanguinary war, in which it has ever been her evil fortune to be engaged It has frequently been asserted that Mr Pitt was the cause of that war, but, we believe, with great injustice On the contrary, he seems not only to have earnestly desired peace, but to have done his utmost to prevent other European Powers declaring war, and, lastly, when war between France and the German Powers subsequently became inevitable, to have made every exertion to prevent Great Britain being entangled in the contest His wish was, as expressed by himself in a letter to the Marquis of Stafford, to leave France "to arrange its own internal affairs as it can † In fact, not only does Mr Pitt's language in the House of Commons repeatedly demonstrate that, so far from desiring war, he regarded it as an improbable event, but all his favourite measures of finance and economy, all his projects for the advancement of commerce and for the reduction of taxation, were founded on the basis and expectation of a permanent peace "No man,' said

* An error of fatal influence upon the Opposition party writes Francis Horner was the countenance given to the Jacobin party in England by Mr Fox. He was misled in this by some people about him, and by the persuasion, no doubt that the powerful [Whig] party might easily be restrained from excess, and in the mean time give effectual aid to the prevalence of popular sentiments." As Horner very justly observes Fox felt too much and reflected too little "—*Memoirs and Correspondence of F Horner* vol. i. p. [illegible]

† Rose's Diaries, vol. i

William Grenville to Mr. Rogers, "could wish more to preserve peace with France. His heart was set upon peace, and upon financial improvements. The war was forced upon him."*

But, while we freely admit that Mr. Pitt was anxious to avert the horrors of war from his country, it may be questioned whether, by the exercise of greater foresight and prudence, and by the adoption of a more conciliatory tone towards the French Republic, he might not have long retarded, or possibly have prevented altogether, those terrible hostilities, which lasted for nearly a decade after the great Minister had been laid in the tomb in Westminster Abbey. "Though," writes his friend Wilberforce, "at the commencement of the war, I could deliberately declare that we were not the assailants, and therefore that it was just and necessary, yet I had but too much reason to know that the Ministry had not taken due pains to prevent its breaking out."† At all events, having once conceded the grand principle that every country has a right to manage its own domestic affairs in its own way, it became only a part of his ordinary duty to exercise, in his dealings with France, that tact and discretion, which afforded the best prospect of averting the great evil which he admittedly deprecated and dreaded. On the contrary, by his churlish reception of the friendly and pacific assurances made to England by the French nation—by the lofty assumption of superiority with which he exhorted France "to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory"—by his dismission of M. Chauvelin from London; by his recall of Lord Gower from Paris after the execution of Louis the Sixteenth—and lastly, by the refusal of England to receive an accredited Minister from the Convention, notwithstanding Spain—closely allied as

* Recollections by Samuel Rogers, p. 189. † Life of Wilberforce, vol. ii. p. 11.

she was to the murdered Louis—had set the example, he not only alarmed and irritated the French people, but seems to have impressed their rulers with the fatal conviction that, in declaring war against Great Britain, they were merely anticipating the intentions of the British Cabinet. "It is with regret," wrote the French Government, "we shall combat the English, whom we esteem, but we shall combat them without fear."*

Notwithstanding the brilliant abilities displayed by Mr. Pitt as a Peace Minister, his capacity to conduct a great war, and to guide the helm of Government in tempestuous times, has been frequently, and with much severity, called in question. The abstract fact that Mr. Pitt, during the long years of disgrace and disaster which followed the breaking out of the war with France, ardently and laboriously devoted all the energies of his mind and body to the service of his country, few will do him the injustice to deny. But unfortunately Mr. Pitt laboured under disadvantages, which not all the best intentions in the world, nor the most laborious industry, were sufficient to counteract. It will be remembered at how unripe an age, owing to precocious talents and

* "Our Government," writes Wilberforce, "had been, for some months before the breaking out of the war, negotiating with the principal European Powers, for the purpose of obtaining a joint representation to France, assuring her that if she would formally engage to keep within her limits, and not molest her neighbours, she should be suffered to settle her own internal government without interference. I never was so earnest with Mr. Pitt on any occasion as I was in my entreaties, before the war broke out, that he would declare openly in the House of Commons that he had been, and then was, negotiating this treaty. I urged on him that the declaration might possibly produce an immediate effect in France, where it was manifest there prevailed an opinion that we were meditating some interference with their internal affairs, and the restoration of Louis to his throne. At all events, I hoped that in the first lucid interval France would see how little reason there was for continuing the war with Great Britain; and, at least, the declaration must silence all but the most determined oppositionists in this country. How far this expectation would have been realized you may estimate by Mr. Fox's language, when Mr. Pitt at my instance did make the declaration last winter—1799. 'If,' he said, 'the right honourable gentleman had made the declaration, now delivered, *to France*, as well as to Russia, Austria, and Prussia, I should have nothing more to say or desire.'"—*Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii. pp. 12, 13.

other causes, he had been promoted from the lecture-room of the University to the first seat at the Treasury Board. Since that period his time had been occupied—not in framing complicated treaties and organizing great military expeditions, but in the more congenial capacity of reducing taxation, of improving the revenue, securing Parliamentary triumphs, and carrying successful budgets through Parliament. Moreover, there were other deficiencies which he had to contend against. Owing to the delicacy of his constitution, he had been brought up at home, and thus had had little opportunity of acquiring that desirable knowledge of human nature and of the world, which an education at a public school is calculated to impart. He had no knowledge of any modern language but the French, which he knew but imperfectly, and consequently had been afforded but few occasions of conversing freely and advantageously with the discerning and sagacious men of other countries. Never, but on one occasion, having crossed the British Channel, and then merely on a vacation trip, his powerful mind had acquired no enlightenment from foreign travel. It was, in fact, his misfortune, as we find subscribed severally by Lord Malmesbury and Mr. Windham, that "he was not sufficiently acquainted with mankind; had not mixed enough in the world."* Possibly, it may have been mainly owing to these defects that, on the breaking out of the French Revolution, we find him strangely insensible to the signs and perils of the times; incapable, apparently, of appreciating the vast resources and military greatness of the French nation; and consequently, instead of anticipating and preparing for a state of war, plunging into the opposite extreme of reducing the military establishments of the country, with all the self-satisfied complacency of a commonplace financier. The fact is a notorious

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iii. p. 566.

one that, so late as the month of February, 1792, he unhesitatingly expressed his *conviction in* Parliament, that "unquestionably there never was a time in the history of this country, when, *from the situation of Europe*, we might more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace than at the present moment'* In like manner, when war had become inevitable, he pointed with his accustomed confidence to the exhausted state of the French finances, arguing, from this very inconclusive fact, that the contest must necessarily be a brief and inconsiderable one Again, when more far sighted persons than himself sought to wean him from his delusion, it was not without impatience, we are told, that he listened to their arguments "It will be a very short war, he once observed, "and certainly be ended in one or two campaigns'—"No, sir," were the words of Burke, when this argument was repeated to him, "it will be a long war and a dangerous war, but it must be undertaken '† Burke's prediction proved correct Before a twelvemonth had elapsed, more than a million of enthusiastic Frenchmen, the most formidable military people in Europe, are computed to have rushed to arms "Good God! my dear lord,' writes Lord Stanhope to one of the Ministers, Lord Grenville, "you have no conception of the misfortunes you may bring upon England by going to war with France For as to France, I believe all Europe cannot subdue them, whatever efforts may be made It will only rouse them more' ‡ Another keen sighted person, to whose representations Mr Pitt turned a deaf ear, was M Bigot de St Croix, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs in France When the English Minister endeavoured to show him the impossibility of France being able to carry on the war for more than

* Parl. Hist vol. xxix. col. 8 &c.
† *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii. pp. 10 11.
‡ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt vol. ii. p. 180 181.

six months—"Sir," he replied, "if you knew the resources of France as well as I know them, you would know that she is capable of carrying on war for a great length of time. Sir, France is more powerful because she has not what you call finances. Those who are in possession of the Government will put all property in requisition." So unpalatable was this language to Mr. Pitt, that from that hour the Frenchman never called upon him but he found the door of the Minister's house closed against him.*

It has been asserted, to the prejudice of George the Third, *that the war with France was "highly acceptable"* to his feelings.† On the contrary, he was unquestionably most anxious to preserve peace, nor was it till the fears and disgust of Whig, as well as Tory, had been thoroughly aroused by the atrocities committed by the French people, by their renunciation of Christianity, and by the decapitation of their Sovereign, that the King was reluctantly induced to join in the almost general desire for a crusade on behalf of religion, property, and order.

* Nicholls's Recollections of the Reign of George III., vol. i. pp. 143, 144, 148. It must be admitted, in justice to Mr. Pitt's sagacity, that he was far from being the only leading politician of the day who had adopted this short-sighted view of the power and resources of France. In the debate on the Army Estimates on the 9th of February, 1790, we find Burke describing France as, in a "political light," "expunged out of the system of Europe."—*Parl. Hist.*, vol. xxviii. col. 353. The French, writes Lord Grenville, "will not for many years be in a situation to molest the invaluable peace which we now enjoy."—*Buckingham Papers*, vol. ii. p. 165. It was also the opinion of Lord Sheffield, so late as October, 1792, that "France would hardly venture to come to an open quarrel with us, and if they did, there would be a complete opportunity of annihilating their marine and colonies."—*Auckland Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 458. Indeed, even at a still later period, when war had actually broken out, we find Lord Auckland predicting that "France will soon cease to be an object of alarm to other nations, and will sink within herself into an abyss of horrors of every kind,—famine, civil war, rapine, massacres, and ultimately a separation of governments and various dismemberments."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 485. Yet, before long, not only had the English Army, to use Lord Macaulay's words, become "the laughing-stock of all Europe" (*Biographics*, p. 205), but before many years elapsed the genius of France had stamped her foot upon the fallen thrones of most of the ancient sovereignties of Europe.

† Nicholls's Recollections, vol. i. p. 136.

The King to Mr Pitt

WINDSOR, *Feb 2nd* 1793

"On returning from hunting I have found Mr Pitt's note, by which I learn that Lord Beauchamp seconded the motion for an Address, which was only opposed by Lord Wycombe, Mr Whitbread, Mr Fox, and Lord William Russell The impression of the House seems just what could have been expected, for if the occasion ever could occur that every power, for the preservation of society, must stand forth in opposition to France, the necessity seems to be at the present hour Indeed, my natural sentiments are so strong for peace, that no event of less moment than the present could have made me decidedly of opinion that duty, as well as interest, calls on us to join against that most savage as well as unprincipled nation

"G R"*

The "event" to which the King alludes with so much indignation was doubtless the execution of his brother-monarch, which had taken place not many days previously to the date of this letter The King had very naturally deeply interested himself in the misfortunes of the Royal Family of France, and especially in the inhuman sufferings to which they had been subjected in the Temple Thus, when the Countess of Sutherland, on her return from Paris, recounted to him some of the details of that terrible durance—for instance how she had contrived to convey some of her own garments to the once regal, beautiful, and half worshipped Marie Antoinette, and some of her children's clothes to the innocent Dauphin—the King is said to have been so affected as to shed tears

The commencement of the long sanguinary and senseless hostilities which followed, bears date from the 1st of February, 1793, the day on which France formally declared war against Great Britain and the United Provinces On the 11th, a message from the King announced the fact to Parliament, and on the 26th, three battalions of the

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii., Appendix, xvii.

Guards, having been previously reviewed by the King on the parade in St. James's Park, embarked at Greenwich for Holland, their Majesties, with their sons and daughters, being present to witness their departure. As the boats severally pushed off from the river-side under the shadow of the noble palatial Hospital, the farewell huzzas of the soldiers were responded to by the cheers of the vast crowds on shore; the King remaining with his head uncovered, and the Queen and the Princesses waving their handkerchiefs.

CHAPTER LIII

Illegal marriage of the Duke of Sussex—Lord Howe's great naval victory of the First of June The King's congratulatory letters on the subject to the Howe family—
Netherlands—
his way to and
of the Princess
Charlotte of Wales—The King at Eton Montem—Court scene on the Terrace at Windsor—Marriage of the Duke of York.

THE only event of any particular interest in the domestic history of George the Third during the year 1793, was the marriage at Rome, on the 4th of April, of his sixth son, *the Duke of Sussex—then a youth in his twenty-*first year—with Lady Augusta Murray, daughter of John fourth Earl of Dunmore, a lady some years older than himself, the marriage ceremony being subsequently repeated on the 5th of December, in St George's Church, Hanover square, London This imprudent and illegal match could scarcely fail to be most displeasing to the King, by whose command evidences of the double union were subsequently laid before the Ecclesiastical Courts, when both marriages were declared to be contrary to the provisions of the Royal Marriage Act, and consequently null and void * "A Council," writes Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer on the 27th of January, 1794, "sits both to day and to morrow to examine the circumstances of Prince Augustus's marriage, and to make a report to the King Lady Dunmore and others have been examined The parties were disguised at the ceremony,

* Lady Augusta, who assumed, by sign manual, the name of D'Ameland, died at Rome in 1830.

and the parson does not appear to have known them. The ceremony was on the 5th of December, and the lady was delivered of a boy on the 13th instant."* The fact is a remarkable one, that although the marriage at St. George's was published by banns, and although the Duke and the lady were respectively married by their real names, Augustus Frederick and Augusta Murray, yet neither the rector nor any of his subordinates seem to have entertained the slightest suspicion of their real rank and position. So improbable, however, did it seem, that one and all of those present should have been ignorant of the truth, that when the affair came to be investigated by the Privy Council, Lord Thurlow denounced their conduct in almost violent language. "Sir," he said angrily to Lord Eldon, then Attorney-General, "why have you not prosecuted, under the Act of Parliament, all the parties concerned in this abominable marriage?" Happily the Attorney-General was ready with a complete reply. "I answered," he writes, "that it was a very difficult business to prosecute—that the Act, it was understood, had been drawn by Lord Mansfield, *Mr. Attorney-General Thurlow*, and Mr. Solicitor-General Wedderburn, who unluckily had made all parties present at the marriage guilty of felony, and as nobody could prove the marriage except a person who had been present at it, there could be no prosecution, because nobody present could be compelled to be a witness. This put an end to the matter."†

The year 1794 was remarkable for the great naval victory obtained by the King's favourite Admiral, Lord Howe, on the 1st of June, over the French Fleet. On the glorious tidings being communicated to the King, he wrote the following letters :—

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iii. pp. 176, 177. The child, here referred to, was the late Sir Augustus Frederick D'Este, K.C.H.

† Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. pp. 235, 236.

The King to Countess Howe

WINDSOR, *June 11th* 1794.

"Lady Howe will, I trust, believe that next to the signal advantage to the great cause in which this country is engaged, nothing can give me more satisfaction than that it has been obtained by the skill and bravery of Earl Howe, and, I sincerely return thanks to the Almighty, without any personal loss to himself. The 1st of June must be reckoned as a proud day for him, as it will carry down his name to the latest posterity. I will not add more than that I trust now both your mind, and that of Lady Mary, will be at ease. We must soon hear of his return to Spithead.

"GEORGE R."*

The King to the Honourable Mrs Howe†

WINDSOR *June 11th* 1794

"Mrs Howe's zeal for the great cause in which this country is engaged, added to her becoming ardour for the glory of her family, must make her feel with redoubled joy the glorious news brought by Sir Roger Curtis. She will, I hope, be satisfied now that *Earl Richard* has, with twenty five sail of the line, attacked twenty-six of the enemy, taken six, and sunk two.‡ Besides, it is not improbable that some of the disabled ships of the enemy may not be able to reach their own shore. I own I could not refrain from expressing my sentiments on the occasion, but will not detain her by adding more.

"GEORGE R."§

On the 13th of June, Portsmouth witnessed the unusual and heart stirring sight of a victorious fleet arriving at Spithead, with no fewer than six of the enemy's line-of-battle ships in tow. On the 26th, the King, accompanied by the Queen, the three youngest Princesses, and Prince Ernest, afterwards King of Hanover, proceeded to Portsmouth to do honour to his favourite Admiral. His visit

* MS Original.

† Sister to Lord Howe. See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

‡ This is not quite correct. Lord Howe captured seven French line-of-battle ships, of which one, the 'Vengeur,' 74 guns, sank almost immediately.

§ Barrow's Life of Earl Howe, p. 263.

to the Earl's flag-ship, the 'Queen Charlotte,' accompanied by his officers of state and by the officers of the fleet, afforded a most interesting sight. On the quarter-deck he presented Lord Howe with a valuable diamond-hilted sword and a gold chain, to which a medal, struck for the occasion, was subsequently appended. "Sir Roger Curtis,"* writes the Earl's second daughter, Lady Mary Howe, to her sister Lady Altamont, "received the King and led him immediately upon deck. Our attendance on the Queen and Princesses prevented Mama and I from seeing the first meeting of the King and my glorious father, which I am told was the most affecting thing possible. My father's knees trembled with emotion when he kissed the King's hands, who presented him with a most magnificent sword set with diamonds, and afterwards with a gold chain, to which is to be hung a gold medal struck for the occasion, which is also given to the other Admirals and Captains who have contributed to this victory, considered as the greatest ever obtained on the sea. My father afterwards kissed the Queen's hands, and then his flag was lowered, and the royal standard raised to the maintop-mast's head and saluted by the whole fleet. The Royal Family then went into the cabin, and appeared happy and comfortable to the highest degree, giving us a thousand proofs of the kindest interest. About three o'clock they went to dinner, after which the King gave a toast, drank by all at the table, the Princesses, the Prince, Lady Courtown, Lady Caroline Waldegrave, Lady Frances Howard, Mama, and I; my father waiting on the King and Queen, and this toast was pronounced in the most solemn manner—'May her great Admiral long command the 'Queen Charlotte,' and may she long be an example to future fleets!' A short time after this, the whole Royal Family walked through the ship's com-

* Sir Roger Curtis, Bart., Earl Howe's Flag Captain in the great battle of the First of June, died an Admiral of the *Red* in November, 1816.

pany, drawn up in line, when my father told the King aloud, that 'their diligence and propriety of conduct, in all respects, since the victory, was not less commendable than their resolution and bravery during the action.' Nothing, during the day, was more pleasing to me than this walk through these brave fellows, every one of whom I am certain would attend my father to a cannon's mouth, and all of whom have exposed their lives for him." *

On quitting the 'Queen Charlotte,' the royal party, with Lord Howe leading the way in his barge, were rowed up Portsmouth Harbour to inspect the French prizes. During the four days that the King and Queen remained at Portsmouth, they occupied much of their time in visiting the dockyard and the ships of war at Spithead, and on Sunday, the last day of their stay, attended Divine service in Portsmouth Church. On the Monday they embarked on board the 'Aquilon' frigate, which carried them to Southampton, from which town they proceeded to Windsor.

It may be mentioned that on reaching Windsor the Queen had the misfortune of hearing of the death of her brother, Adolphus Frederick Duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, and further, that, before the Court had gone out of mourning, died her sister, the Princess Christina.

The death of the Duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz created a vacancy for the Order of the Garter, which the King, on the one hand, was anxious to confer upon Lord Howe, but which, to his infinite annoyance, Mr. Pitt showed no less eagerness to obtain for his new ally, the Duke of Portland. "If Mr. Pitt," writes the King to his minister on the 13th of July, "can find that a Marquisate would be as agreeable to Lord Howe as a Garter, I will consent to it. But having with Mr. Pitt's knowledge acquainted Lord Howe with my intention of conferring the Order on

* Barrow's Life of Earl Howe, pp. 281, 282.

him, it is impossible, unless Lord Howe chooses the former mark of favour in preference to the latter, that I can propose it. Besides, I cannot see why, on the Duke of Portland's head favours are to be heaped without measure." Mr. Pitt, however, proved inexorable, and accordingly the King was compelled to submit. The vacant Garter was bestowed on the Whig Duke, nor was it till nearly three years afterwards that the victor of the First of June, who had chosen to decline the Marquisate, received the more coveted distinction.*

To the circumstance of Lord Howe's health failing him in the winter of 1794-5, and again in the ensuing summer, we are indebted for the following pleasing letters, addressed by George the Third to the noble Admiral:—

The King to Earl Howe.

"WINDSOR, *January 7th*, 1795.

"The habitude I have had, of not only looking on Earl Howe as one of the first of admirals, but as my *peculiar* admiral, inclines me on the present occasion to write to him, having heard from Earl Spencer on Friday that Earl Howe doubts much whether his health would enable him soon to join the fleet. I should sooner have wrote to him, had I not heard, on coming here, that his fever had returned. I, therefore, thought it would have been unkind at that time to be troubling him, and consequently delayed it till now, that I trust his health is much improved.

"I know too much the value of Earl Howe's services to be inclined to call for them in the present inclement season; and, therefore, I am desirous to have it understood that I wish he should remain at home to reinstate his health for the more favourable season, and that one of the senior officers under his command may go out, with such ships as can be put to sea, to protect the transports and trade now ready to proceed to foreign stations; Earl Howe remaining at hand to give his advice as occurrences may arise, and to return to the fleet, as I have said before, when the season may be more temperate. I press this the stronger,

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. xx. Appendix. Barrow's Life of Earl Howe, p. 262.

from recollecting the hint dropped at Portsmouth in June, of doubting how long his health might permit him to continue to serve

"I know Earl Howe's attachment to my person as well as to the Service, and, therefore, point out to him that his forming any idea of retreat at present would be highly detrimental to me, and, at an hour when some show a timidity, very fatal to the great cause in which I am engaged Any failure from him, who I think a sheet-anchor, would be the cause of more evil than I choose to express

"George R" *

The King to Earl Howe

Windsor, *July 26th* 179[illegible]

"I received this morning Earl Howe's letter, notifying that the weakness, consequent to his late indisposition, must oblige him to apply to the Board of Admiralty for leave further to postpone the engagement he is called upon to resume in the charge of the fleet I cannot but sincerely regret that he is under that necessity, but trust he will soon be enabled to resume a command he has so ably and successfully filled, and I must in the strongest manner press him to pursue such means, as by his medical advisers may be advised, to restore his strength, that the country may have again the pleasure of seeing him in the station I am certain no one can so ably fill

"George R †

The ill success which attended the British arms in the Netherlands, and, more recently, the disastrous retreat of the army, under the command of the Duke of York, were attributed by Mr Pitt, whether with justice or not, chiefly to the youth and military inexperience of his Royal Highness, and to the want of confidence felt by the army in "his general management" Accordingly he considered it to be his duty—a most painful one doubtless—to press upon the King the recall of his favourite and certainly gallant son Mr Pitt's letter to his sovereign has apparently

* MS. Original. † MS. Original.

not been preserved; but the following is the King's distressing reply to his Minister :—

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WINDSOR, *Nov. 24th*, 1794.

"Mr. Pitt cannot be surprised at my being very much hurt at the contents of his letter. Indeed he seems to expect it, but I am certain that nothing but the thinking it his duty could have instigated him to give me so severe a blow. I am neither in a situation of mind, nor from inclination, inclined to enter more minutely into every part of his letter; but I am fully ready to answer the material part, namely, that though loving very much my son, and not forgetting how he saved the Republic of Holland in 1793, and that his endeavours to be of service have never abated, and that to the conduct of Austria, the faithlessness of Prussia, and the cowardice of the Dutch, every failure is easily to be accounted for, without laying blame on him who deserved a better fate, I shall certainly now not think it safe for him to continue in the command on the Continent, when every one seems to conspire to render his situation hazardous, by either propagating unfounded complaints against him, or giving credit to them.

"No one will believe that I take this step but reluctantly, and the more so since no successor of note is proposed to take the command. Truly I do not see where any one is to be found that can deserve that name now the Duke of Brunswick has declined; and I am certain he will fully feel the propriety of the resolution he has taken, when he finds that even a son of mine cannot withstand the torrent of abuse." *

The Duke of York was accordingly recalled to England. He arrived at Harwich on the 22nd of January following, and in less than three weeks was advanced to the rank of Field-Marshal, and appointed Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's land forces.

There were few events, during the reign of George the Third, which afforded greater satisfaction, alike to the King and to his subjects, than the tardy consent

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. pp. xxi. xxii., Appendix.

of the Prince of Wales to enter into the marriage-stat and the announcement of his appointed nuptials with th Princess Caroline of Brunswick. To the Prince alone the prospect was not only an unpalatable, but a hateful one. As the husband, in the eyes of Heaven, of Mrs Fitzherbert, and also with his passions, if not his affections, fixed upon another woman, Lady Jersey, it was natural that he should shrink from contracting a third engagement, which promised to cast no single ray of happiness on the future. Necessity, however, in his case acknowledged no law. The Prince had unhappily broken through the engagement, which he made to Parliament in 1787, to limit his expenditure for the future. His debts had again become enormous. His creditors were daily growing more and more importunate, and accordingly his only means of extricating himself from his embarrassments was by marrying, and thus affording a reasonable prospect to the country of his becoming the father of future heirs to the throne. It was on these grounds that Parliament subsequently discharged his debts to the almost fabulous amount of nearly 650,000*l.*, an act of costly munificence which the Prince repaid by limiting his matrimonial cohabitation to a period so brief that it was an insult to the riendless foreigner to whom he had pledged his troth, and hich limited the issue of their union to an only child, the te Princess Charlotte of Wales.

So long as a Princess was brought to the Prince at the ar, or rather so long as his debts were paid, his Royal ghness would seem to have taken but little interest in selection of his future consort. As the King, therewas known to prefer the daughter of his favourite r, the Duchess of Brunswick, and as the Duke nce had represented the young lady in no colours to the Prince,* it was no grea

* Lord Malmesbury's Diary [illegible]

parental duty when he proposed to marry his ill-starred cousin.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WEYMOUTH, *Aug. 24th*, 1794.

"Agreeable to what I mentioned to Mr. Pitt before I came here, I have this morning seen the Prince of Wales, who has acquainted me with his having broken off all connection with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and his desire of entering into a more creditable line of life by marrying; expressing at the same time that his wish is that my niece, the Princess of Brunswick, may be the person. Undoubtedly she is the person who naturally must be most agreeable to me. I expressed my approbation of the idea, provided his plan was to lead a life that would make him appear respectable, and consequently render the Princess happy. He assured me that he perfectly coincided with me in opinion. I then said that till Parliament assembled no arrangement could be taken except my sounding my sister, that no idea of any other marriage may be encouraged.

"G. R." *

The person who was selected to proceed to Brunswick to demand the hand of the Princess Caroline for the heir of England, was the accomplished diplomatist, James Earl of Malmesbury, from whose diaries we learn that he arrived at the Court of Brunswick on Thursday, the 20th of November, 1794, and that on the same day he was introduced to the future Queen of England, then in the twenty-seventh year of her age. "The Princess Caroline," he writes, "much embarrassed at my first being presented to her; pretty face; not expressive of softness; her figure not graceful; fine eyes, good hand, tolerable teeth, but going; fair hair and light eyebrows; good bust; short, with what the French call *les épaules impertinentes;* vastly happy with her future expectations." † Whatever may have been the causes of the procrastination, the arrival of

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. xx., Appendix.
† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iii. pp. 148, 149.

the Princess in England was delayed till the 8th of April, on the evening of which day her marriage with the Prince was solemnised with considerable splendour in the Chapel Royal at St James's Palace, the King giving away the bride and the Archbishop of Canterbury performing the nuptial ceremony. Lord Malmesbury, who was present, incidentally mentions the Prince delivering his hat, which was ornamented with a rich diamond button and loop, to Lord Harcourt to hold, and, after the ceremony, desiring his Lordship to retain it as a marriage gift. According to Lord Malmesbury's further account, the Prince not only had every appearance of being unhappy, but "had manifestly had recourse to wine or spirits," in order to keep up his courage.*

It was not long after this period, that the general dis- 1795
inclination to the ruinous war which was being waged with France, combined with a scarcity of food which amounted almost to a famine, not only occasioned serious discontent and formidable disorders in different parts of the kingdom, but led to two separate cowardly attacks being made on the person of the sovereign. The first of these outrages occurred on the 29th of October, 1795, the day on which the King proceeded in state to Westminster for the purpose of opening Parliament. By those whose memories carried them back many years, it was remarked that never, since the coronation, had denser crowds assembled in St James's Park between Buckingham House and the Horse Guards, and between the Horse Guards and the precincts of the Houses of Parliament. The people, too, were evidently prepared for mischief. The Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Portland, and the Earl of Chatham, were received with groans and hisses, which were redoubled when the cumbrous gilt state coach, containing the King and the Earls of Westmoreland and Onslow, made its appearance in the Park.

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iii. pp. 212, 213.

Seditious cries of "Bread! Bread!—Peace! Peace!—No King!"—assailed the King's ears during the whole of his progress. Nevertheless, no violence was offered to his person till just when the royal coach entered the space between New and Old Palace Yard, when a small ball, either of lead or marble, perforated the glass window on the side on which he was seated, and then passed through the opposite window, which happened to be open. One of the two lords manifesting some alarm, he at once received a rebuke from the King. "Sit still, my Lord," he said, "we must not betray fear, whatever happens."* "We all," writes Lord Onslow, "instantly exclaimed, 'This is a shot!' The King showed, and I am persuaded felt, no alarm, much less fear, to which indeed he is insensible." His self-composure was complete. Instead of withdrawing to the back of the coach, in order to avoid the possible consequences of a second shot, he leaned forward and calmly examined the hole which had been made in the glass. "My Lord, we have been shot at," was his quiet observation to the Lord Chancellor, who was expecting him at the foot of the stairs leading to the House of Lords. Moreover neither from his voice nor from his demeanour, as he delivered his speech from the throne, could any one have imagined that only a minute or two had elapsed since he had been providentially rescued from imminent peril. No less self-possessed was he when he retired with the Duke of York, and the Lords in attendance, to the robing-room, where, in discussing the outrage, it was remarked that he betrayed less excitement than any one else. "Well, my Lords," he said to Lords Westmoreland and Onslow, on re-entering the state coach; "one person is proposing this, and another is supposing that, forgetting that there is One above us all who disposes of everything, and on whom alone we depend."

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 293.

Outrageous as had been the conduct of the mob during the King's progress to Westminster, still worse was the state of affairs on his return, more especially in St James's Park "The scene opened," writes Lord Onslow, "and the insulting abuse offered to His Majesty was what I can never think of but with horror, nor ever forget what I felt when they proceeded to throw stones into the coach, several of which hit the King, which he bore with signal patience, but not without sensible marks of indignation and resentment at the indignities offered to his person and office The glasses were all broken to pieces, and in this situation we were during our passage through the Park The King took one of the stones out of the cuff of his coat, where it had lodged, and gave it to me, saying—'I make you a present of this, as a mark of the civilities we have met with on our journey to day'" At one time, the rabble pressed so closely and defiantly round the coach, that the King was forced to wave his hands to the Horse Guards to keep the multitude at a greater distance Observing one of the soldiers on the point of cutting down an innocent person, the King called out to him that he was mistaken, and thus saved the person s life *

From these disorders it might reasonably be inferred that the King's popularity had passed away, but such was not the case His assailants on the 29th of October, as we learn from Lord Onslow, were "all of the worst and lowest sort," whereas the mass of the middle and higher classes appear to have regarded him with the same affection and reverence as ever When, on the following night, he attended the performances in Covent Garden Theatre with the Queen and Princesses, not only was his appearance greeted with a burst of enthusiastic congratulation, but

* Letter from George first Earl of Onslow dated October 29 1795 twelve at night in *Court and Family of George III* vol. ii pp [illegible]. See also *Annual Register* for 1795 pp. 37 38 Part 2 Lord Westmoreland was at this time Master of the Horse to the King and Lord Onslow one of his Lords of the Bedchamber

during the evening "God save the King" was three times called for by the audience. Occasionally, indeed, a hiss proceeded from some remote corner of the house; but the offender was speedily ejected.*

1796. The other attack which about this time was made on the King's person, occurred in Pall Mall on the night of the 1st of February, on his return to Buckingham House from Drury Lane Theatre. Just as the carriage, in which the King and Queen were seated, reached the corner of John-street, a stone was hurled through one of the glass windows, which, after having struck the Queen in the cheek, fell into the lap of the Lady of the Bedchamber in Waiting, the Countess of Harrington. A reward of a thousand pounds was offered for the discovery of the miscreant who committed the outrage, but to no purpose. It may be mentioned that at this period so strong was the feeling of discontent among the lower orders of society, and so threatening was their attitude, that the King more than once told Lord Eldon that he considered it not improbable that he should be the last King of England.†

On the 7th of January, 1796, nine calendar months, wanting one day, from the date of the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Princess gave birth at Carlton House to a daughter, who, four days afterwards, was christened by the names of Charlotte Carolina Augusta; the Archbishop of Canterbury performing the ceremony, and the King, the Queen, and the infant's grandmother, the Duchess of Brunswick, being its sponsors. It had been the hope of the wellwishers to the Royal Family, that so propitious an event as the birth of a child might put an end to the unhappy differences which existed between its parents. Instead, however, of its being attended by this desirable result, scarcely three months elapsed before the

* Annual Register for 1795, Part 2, p. 39.
† Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. p. 293.

royal *couple had parted from each other*, never again to meet on terms of social, and much less connubial kindliness On this occasion the Princess retired with her infant to a villa* in the fair village of Charlton, near Blackheath, while the Prince lost no time in returning to his former allegiance to Mrs Fitzherbert

In the summer of this year we find the King attending the Eton Montem, and as was usual with him on such gala days, highly enjoying *the spectacle of happy faces* and gay costumes parading past him, and thoroughly identifying himself with the time honoured amusements and ceremonials of the day In the evening, at his kind and express request, the Eton boys, in their many coloured dresses, were allowed to present themselves on the Terrace at Windsor, thus establishing a pleasing precedent which grew into a custom that lasted, we believe, *till the abolition* of the ancient and interesting pageant

George the Third, as we have already observed, seldom showed himself to greater advantage than when, with the Queen leaning on his arm and their handsome family following them, he was to be seen, on a fine summer evening, promenading the noble terrace at Windsor, exchanging familiar signs of recognition with one person, or stopping to inquire after the health and welfare of another It was *on one of these occasions* that Miss Burney, now Madame D Arblay, once more found herself conversing with her sovereign and former kind and indulgent master It was her wish, she tells us, to display to her foreign husband the spectacle of a constitutional Sovereign walking fearlessly and familiarly among his subjects, while the crowns of other European monarchs were tottering on their heads, nor, perhaps, was she without the natural desire of raising herself *in the estimation of* M D Arblay *by showing him*

* Curiously enough this house had formerly been the residence of the Princess s rival Mrs. Fitzherbert Lysons s *Environs of London* vol i p 434

the friendly footing on which she stood with the Royal Family. On the present occasion of her visiting Windsor, although it was the month of July, the afternoon happened to be cold and raw, and accordingly, on her reaching the terrace with her husband, she found that, owing to the King not having made his appearance, the company were on the point of dispersing, and the musicians preparing to retreat with their instruments. Presently, however, it began to be buzzed among the crowd that the royal party were approaching, on which the horns and clarions were hastily summoned back, and in due time the King and the six Princesses appeared in sight.

The King was attended by the Duke of York, the Lords Beaulieu and Walsingham, and General Harcourt. Lady Charlotte Bruce and Miss Goldsworthy were in waiting on the Princesses. "The King," writes Madame D'Arblay, "stopped to speak to the Bishop of Norwich and some others at the entrance, and then walked on towards us who were at the further end. As he approached, the Princess Royal said, loud enough to be heard by Mrs. Fisher—'Madame D'Arblay, sir.' Instantly he came on a step, and then stopped and addressed me, and, after a word or two of the weather, said—'Is that M. D'Arblay?' and most graciously bowed to him and entered into a little conversation, demanding how long he had been in England, how long in the country? &c., with a sweetness, an air of wishing us well, that will never, never be erased from our hearts." The King then passed on with the Duke of York, leaving the Princesses to converse for a few moments with their old acquaintance. Madame D'Arblay, it should be observed, had just published her third novel, 'Camilla,' which the Queen, departing from a general rule which she had laid down in regard to works of fiction, had permitted her daughters to read, without having in the first instance perused it herself. "I have

got leave!" were the first joyous words of the Princess Elizabeth to the delighted authoress "Mamma says she will not wait to read it first" "After this," continues Madame D'Arblay, "*the King and Duke never passed without taking off their hats, and the Princesses gave me a smile and a curtsy at every turn*" In the course of the afternoon, the Queen admitted her former servant to an interview, at which the Duke of York was present, and, during a part of the time, the King, who was in high good humour, and who completed the satisfaction of Madame D'Arblay by directing much of the conversation to the subject of her new novel "He talked," she writes, "*much upon the book, and then of Mrs Delany, and then of various others that my sight brought to his recollection, and all with a freedom and goodness that* enabled me to answer without difficulty or embarrassment, and that produced two or three hearty laughs from the Duke of York" Madame D'Arblay mentions, as traits of kindly complaisance on the part of the young Princesses, that on the King and Queen quitting the apartment, the Princess Amelia lingered behind to shake hands with her, and that the Princess Augusta subsequently returned to the apartment for the same amiable purpose *

On the 18th of May, 1797, the marriage of the Princess Royal with Frederick Charles William, hereditary Prince, and afterwards King of Wurtemberg, for the first time deprived the King of the society of one of his dearly beloved daughters The ceremony was performed in the Chapel Royal, St James's, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters vol. vi pp 69 74. One of the questions put by the King to Madame D'Arblay was as to the system which she pursued in correcting the proof sheets of her works. On her intimating that no one corrected them but herself— "Why!" he remarked with much shrewdness "some authors have told me that they are the last to do that work for themselves They know so well by heart what *ought* to be that they run on without seeing what *is*. They have told me besides, that a mere plodding head is best and surest for that work and that the *higher the imagination the less it should be trusted to* —*Ibid* vol. vi. p. 68.

King giving away the bride. On the same day Hannah More writes to her sister Martha—"I am just come from attending the royal nuptials at St. James's. It was, indeed, a most august spectacle. The royal bride behaved with great feeling and modesty. The Prince of Wurtemberg had also a very becoming solemnity in his behaviour. The King and Queen wept, but took great pains to restrain themselves. I forgot to say the King gave his daughter away, and it was really affecting. The Archbishop read the service with great emphasis and solemnity. The newspapers will have described all the crape, and the foils, and the feathers, and the diamonds, &c. We were four hours in chapel." *

The Princess deserved all the affection with which she was regarded by her family, and especially by her father. Not only was he deeply affected during the marriage ceremony, but at their final leave-taking, on her departure for a foreign land, his agitation is said to have been painful to witness. "Your looks," he touchingly wrote to her on the following day, "painted more strongly your affection to me last night than any form of words could have conveyed; therefore your letter of this morning, though it has given me much pleasure, has not surprised me. May Heaven bestow its choicest blessings on you, and ever believe that my affections will always be of the tenderest kind, as I am certain your conduct will always justify my opinion of you." †

* Memoirs of Hannah More, vol. iii. p. 14, 3rd edition.
† Quarterly Review, vol. cv. p. 494.

CHAPTER LIV.

Great naval victories gained by Lords St. Vincent and Duncan — Public Thanksgiving in St. Paul's Cathedral — The King at Weymouth in 1798 and 1799 — The King and Doctors Burney and Herschel — Death of Earl Howe — Further affectionate letters from the King to the Howe family — The Bishop of St. David's the King's personal nominee to the Primacy of Ireland — The King's narrow escape from a musket ball in Hyde Park — Shot at by Hadfield — In favour of Union with Ireland — Distressed at Pitt's projected Catholic Emancipation Bill — Pitt's resignation — Addington becomes Premier.

IN the month of February, 1797, the dark aspect of public affairs was at length cheered by the great naval victory which the skill of Sir John Jervis, and the valour of Nelson, enabled them to obtain over the Spaniards off Feb. Cape St. Vincent. The British fleet on that occasion consisted only of fifteen sail of the line, while that of Spain numbered no fewer than twenty-seven, including six of 112 guns and one of 136 guns, the celebrated 'Santissima Trinidada.' For this great achievement Sir John Jervis was created Earl St. Vincent, and awarded a pension of 3000*l.* a year, while Nelson had to be content with an empty, pitiful knighthood.

This success was followed by another important naval victory, which took place on the 11th of October, when the British fleet, under Admiral Duncan, encountered off Camperdown the Dutch fleet commanded by Admiral De Winter; the result being that, after a hard-fought action, eight of the enemy's ships of the line, including the flag-

ships of the Dutch Admiral and Vice-Admiral, and four frigates, were captured, and that three line-of-battle ships only had the good fortune to escape. "The valour of the Navy," writes the King to Bishop Hurd on the 19th of October, "never shone more than in the late glorious action off Camperdown, on the Dutch coast, and I trust its effects will render our enemies more humble, and that while my subjects praise the conduct of the officers and sailors, that they will return thanks, where most due, to the Almighty, who has crowned their endeavours with success. I feel this last sentiment so strongly, that I proposed to order a Thanksgiving on the occasion, in which I mean to join, in consequence of the success over the Dutch, the two memorable battles of Earl Howe over the French, and the Earl of St. Vincent over the Spaniards. Without true seeds of religion no people can be happy, nor will be obedient to legal authority; nor will those in command be moderate in the exercise of it, if not convinced that they are answerable to a Higher Power for their conduct. But were I to indulge myself on this subject, I should certainly obtrude too long on your patience. I will, therefore, conclude with every assurance of feeling much interest, my good Lord, in your health and happiness."*

"I was in the room at Windsor Castle," writes an accomplished lady who stood high in the esteem of the King and Queen, "when the news was brought of the victory over the Dutch fleet at Camperdown by Admiral Duncan. The King seemed overpowered with its magnitude, and, pacing up and down the long dark room in which he usually sat, appeared occasionally to ejaculate something in a low voice, when the Princess Augusta said to him—'Papa, you are not half happy enough; so many of the

* Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. 512.

Dutch have fallen, and so few of our English!' Repeati her observation, he turned short, as if awakened from reverie, and said, with a sharpness not usual with him 'Remember, Augusta, there are just as many widows an orphans as if they were all English!' So feelingly and meekly did he bear prosperity!"*

On the 19th of December this year, the two great victories won by Jervis and Duncan, now severally Earl St Vincent and Viscount Duncan, were celebrated by the King's commands with considerable pomp in St Paul's Cathedral On that day a solemn procession, consisting of the King and Queen and the Royal Family, of the great officers of state and of the royal household, of the Houses of Lords and Commons, the principal naval commanders, and a detachment of seamen and marines bearing flags and ensigns, repaired, through streets lined with soldiers, to the great metropolitan church The interior of the vast building presented a most imposing spectacle The King and the Royal Family having taken their places, the principal naval officers filed past them, bearing various flags captured from the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch Admiral Sir Alan, afterwards Lord Gardiner, carried the principal French standard taken by Lord Howe on the First of June, 1794, and Lord Duncan, the colours of his captured enemy, De Winter It may be mentioned that the King, on his way to the Cathedral, was eceived with enthusiasm by the populace, while Mr Pitt n the contrary, met with so insulting a reception that h sely stopped to dine in Doctors Commons, and a urned in the carriage of a friend instead of n †

The years 1798 and 1799 passed away nt of importance disturbing th

* Stuart MS.

† Annual Register

King's domestic life. Part of both of the summers of these years was passed at Weymouth, which had now become a favourite occasional residence of the King. Here he was staying in the month of August, 1798, when the news of Nelson's great victory of the Nile reached England, and here also we find him in the following summer heartily enjoying a respite from kingly harass and toil. The favourite actor "Jack" Bannister used to delight in recounting the King's kindness to him at Weymouth; how frequently his Majesty attended the theatre when he performed, how he patronised his benefit, and invited him to sail in the royal yacht, whenever his theatrical engagements permitted.*

1799. It was on a beautiful summer morning this year, that Dr. Charles Burney, the father of the authoress of 'Evelina,' being on a visit to the celebrated astronomer Herschel, strolled with his host from Slough to Windsor, in order to attend Divine worship in St. George's Chapel. At the termination of the service, as the Doctor informs us, they were cheered by a glimpse of the good King, in his light-grey farmer-like Windsor uniform; but the crowd at the chapel-door was much too great to afford the King a chance of recognizing them. In the evening, however, they were more successful. "At dinner," writes Dr. Burney to his daughter, "we all agreed to go to the Terrace. I never saw it more crowded or gay. The Park was almost full of happy people, farmers, servants, tradespeople, all in Elysium. When the King and Queen, arm-in-arm, were approaching the place where the Herschel family and I had planted ourselves, one of the Misses Parry heard the Queen say to His Majesty—'There's Dr. Burney!' and they instantly came to me so smiling and gracious that I longed to throw myself at their feet.

* Adolphus's Memoirs of John Bannister, vol. ii. p. 50.

'How do you do, Dr. Burney?' said the King; 'why, you are grown fat and young!' 'Yes, indeed,' said the Queen; 'I was very glad to hear from Madame D'Arblay how well you looked.' 'Why, you used to be as thin as Dr. Lind!' says the King. Lind was then in sight, a mere lath. But these few words were accompanied with such very gracious smiles and seemingly affectionate good-humour—the whole Royal Family, except the Prince of Wales, standing by, in the midst of a crowd of the first people in the kingdom for rank and office—that I was afterwards looked at as a sight. After this, the King and Queen hardly ever passed by me without a smile and a nod. The weather was charming, the Park as full as the Terrace, the King having given permission to the farmers, tradesmen, and even livery servants, to be there during the time of his walking."*

At night, the Doctor of Music and the Astronomer attended, by royal invitation, the King's private concert at the Castle. The King, soon after their arrival, advanced to converse with them. Dr. Burney, it seems, was employed at this time in writing a 'Poetical History of Astronomy,' of which fact some intimation had reached the King. "The first question," writes the Doctor, "His Majesty asked me was—'How does Astronomy go on?' I, pretending to suppose he knew nothing of my poem, said—'Dr. Herschel will better inform your Majesty than I can.'—'Ay, ay,' says the King; 'but you are going to tell us something with your pen,' and moved his hand in a writing manner. 'What—what progress have you made?' 'Sir, it is all finished, and all but the last of twelve books have been read to my friend Dr. Herschel.' The King then looking at Herschel as who would say, 'How is it?'—'It is a very capital work, sir,' says Herschel. 'I wonder how you find time,' said the King. 'I

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. vi. pp. 220-222.

make time, sir.'—'How? how?'—'I take it out of my sleep, sir;' when the considerate, good King said—'But you'll hurt your health. How long,' he added, 'have you been at it?'—'Two or three years, at odd and stolen moments, sir.' 'Well,' said the King, 'whatever you write will, I am sure, be entertaining.' I bowed most humbly, as ashamed of not deserving so flattering a speech. 'I do not say it to flatter you,' said the King; 'if I did not think it I should not say it.'"*

On the 5th of August, 1799, at the age of seventy-three, died, at his house in Grafton-street, London, the King's favourite and distinguished Admiral, Earl Howe. The nature of the King's feelings on this sad occasion will be best understood by a perusal of the following beautiful letter, addressed by him to his old friend Mrs. Howe, the sister of the deceased Earl:—

The King to the Honourable Mrs. Howe.

"WEYMOUTH, *September 2nd, 1799.*

"I trust Mrs. Howe knows me better than to suppose my long silence on the great loss the public has sustained, as well as her family, by the unexpected death of her excellent brother, has been occasioned by any other motive than the desire not to intrude while she was so fully employed in acts of attentive kindness to her relations, who must have found much comfort from such attention. I trust the example he has set to the Navy will long continue to stimulate, not only the matchless bravery of the officers, but convince them of the necessity to view the profession in a scientific light, by which alone those improvements are to be acquired, which will retain that superiority over other nations, which every Englishman must desire.

"His exemplary conduct in private life must, on the present melancholy occasion, be the only true comfort to those who loved him, as it gives that hope of his having quitted this transient world for eternal happiness, through the mediation of our blessed Redeemer. If I did not feel the propriety of not adding more on so glorious a theme, my pen would but too willingly continue.

* Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters, vol. vi. pp. 222, 223.

"The family, I find, are removed to Porters Lodge. The moments there were of fresh sorrow, but I trust that the quiet of the place, and the good air, will be of use. I fear Mrs. Ho[we] does not now render that justice to air she formerly did; but [if] she was here, and saw how well it agrees with her *little* friend, a[nd] how much she *hops* about, I think she could not deny it has som[e] efficacy.

"GEORGE R."*

This interesting letter was but the precursor of other marks of kindness and sympathy on the part of the King. "You will like to know," writes the widowed Countess to Sir Roger Curtis, on the 14th of January following, 1800 "that nothing can have been more strongly *marked* than the King's affection and regrets. The Queen came over to me as soon as she returned from Weymouth, and the King ordered my daughters to see him first in private, as less painful to them and to himself. But I must stop writing. This is a subject I could for ever dwell upon, but it will be painful to you and hurtful to me."†

Within less than three months from this time, Lady Howe was prostrated by a second affliction, scarcely less severe than her first. Her beloved and accomplished [d]aughter, Lady Mary Howe, the promised bride of an [a]miable nobleman, George Earl of Morton, Lord Chamber[la]in to the Queen, was, with almost awful suddenness, [ca]rried to the tomb. "It now again falls to me," writes [Mr]s. Howe on the 10th of April, "to acquaint you with [an] event you will most heavily feel. Lady Mary, who was [to h]ave married Lord Morton in a few weeks, the man of [her] choice, and with the highest approbation of all her [frien]ds and of all who loved her—and who, ever acquainted [with t]hat most perfect of human beings did not love and [admire] her?—was seized by a violent fever, which had been [coming] on some days, and took to her bed on Sunday

* [Barro]w's Life of Earl Howe, pp. 387, 388.

† Ibid. p. 391.

evening, the 30th of March; and yesterday, the 9th o April, we lost her. Lady Howe is overwhelmed in sorrow, and in her state of health I think the worst is tc be feared."* The sad event must have been immediately communicated to the King, inasmuch as the following letter is dated the same day on which Lady Mary died:—

The King to the Honourable Mrs. Howe.

"Queen's House, *April 9th*, 1800.

"The King would not for one moment have diverted Mrs. Howe from her heroic efforts to support Countess Howe on the fresh severe affliction she has met with, but from the strong desire he has that, on the first proper occasion, she will express in his name to the Countess how sincerely he participates in her grief. It is impossible to have known the truly angelic mind now departed, and be insensible to the feelings of the excellent mother.

"The King trusts that the true confidence the Countess has always placed in Divine Providence will be her true stay on this most trying occasion, and that both she and the Baroness Howe will not too strongly struggle against the real feelings of nature. Tears are the necessary indulgence on such an occasion; and Divine Providence certainly cannot blame humanity for giving way to what alone in the first moments can give ease. The mind must have obtained some calm before the only true assistant, religion, can give its real aid. My mind is so full I could add much more, but stop on reflecting that I am detaining Mrs. Howe, whose good sense and singular resolution are necessarily employed in supporting the mother and daughter.

"George R."†

The strength of the drooping Countess, as had been apprehended by those who were near and dear to her, sank under the weight of this last and heavy calamity. "On the 9th of August," writes Mrs. Howe, "she was released from a year of sad sorrow, but her death was an easy one."‡ The event drew from the King the following further amiable evidence of his affection for the House of Howe:—

* Barrow's Life of Earl Howe, p. 392. † Ibid. pp. 393, 394. ‡ Ibid. p. 394.

The King to the Honourable Mrs Howe

WEYMOUTH *August 10th* 1800

"Mrs Howe's constant exertions to be useful to her relations must be fully employed at the present moment in supporting Ladies Altamont and Howe in their scene of sorrow Yet I could not refrain from wishing she would, at a proper time, express to them how sincerely I sympathize with them on the present melancholy occasion It is impossible for any one who saw how deeply the late Countess s heart was affected, as well as the weakness to which her frame was reduced, to look on her exit but as a release, and I am certain the great fatigue her daughters have in the most exemplary manner undergone, must have proved fatal to them if of much longer duration

"They have most scrupulously fulfilled their duty to a most kind parent, but that towards their children must make them now attend to their own health, which I hope, by due care, may soon be re-established

"GEORGE R" *

But while the King was sympathizing with the sorrows of others, he himself had been suffering no slight anxiety on account of the delicate state of health of one of his own family, his youngest and beloved child, the Princess Amelia It will be seen, however, by the following letter that before the close of the year she was happily convalescent —

The King to the Bishop of Worcester

"MY GOOD LORD, WINDSOR *Jan. 1st* 1800

"The entering on a new century is so natural an occasion of writing to one whom I so thoroughly love, that I cannot refrain from putting my pen [to paper] though at the risk of breaking in upon your retirement I shall not add to it by unnecessary compliments of the season, as I trust you are sensible of my feelings on that subject at all times

"I have the satisfaction of assuring you that all my family are well Even dear Amelia is, with gigantic steps, by the mercy of Divine Providence, arriving at perfect health She was, on the 24th of last month, Confirmed by her own request, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who seemed much pleased, in the preparatory conversa-

* Barrow s Life of Earl Howe p. 395

tions he had with her, at her being well grounded in our holy religion, and the serious task she was taking upon herself. On Christmas-day he administered the Holy Communion in my chapel, with a solemnity and propriety that could not but give pleasure to those who partook of it.

"The sermon was preached by the Bishop of St. David's,* and a more excellent discourse or exposition of the Christian religion I never heard. Indeed, the five sermons he has preached at the cathedral on the five Sundays in December were equally to be admired, and all on Christianity, not mere moral subjects. I have pressed him to collect the matter of them, with such further explanations as a treatise in support of our holy religion might require, *and then publish what may be useful to others* as well as highly creditable to himself. Young Bishops ought to write, that their talents may be known.

"I know you are no great lover of political subjects, yet the impudent overthrow of the monstrous French Republic by a Corsican adventurer, and his creating himself to be lawgiver and executor of his own decrees, must have astonished you.† Without more foresight than common sense dictates, one may allege that his impious pre-eminence cannot be of long duration.

"My good Lord, most affectionately yours,

"GEORGE R.

"P.S. My son, the Duke of York, who is here, has desired me

* The Hon. William Stuart, fifth son of the King's former Minister, John Earl of Bute, was born in March, 1755. "Mr. William Stuart"—writes M. Dutens about the year 1780—"was a young man of twenty-five years old, who had always applied himself very much to study and reflection. He had very extensive knowledge, well-digested erudition, great taste, solid and sound judgment, an unequalled serenity of mind, and an indifference to the world, unexampled in a young man of his age. He was serious, mild, firm, and attached to his duty. He also had a constancy in his designs and in his conduct, which, with the aid of his talents, would have led him to the highest civil honours of his country; but he embraced the ecclesiastical state."—*Memoirs of a Traveller now in Retirement*, vol. iv. p. 16. While still a young curate (1782), we find Boswell introducing him to Dr. Johnson, as "a gentleman, being with all the advantages of high birth, learning, travel, and elegant manners, an exemplary parish priest in every respect."—Croker's *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, p. 723; ed. 1848. Dr. Stuart was promoted to the see of St. David's in 1793, and in 1800 to the Archbishopric of Armagh. His death, which was occasioned by accidentally taking poison, under peculiarly painful circumstances, took place on the 6th of May, 1822, in his sixty-eighth year. The King, to whom Sir Henry Halford personally hastened to communicate the sad intelligence, naturally "deeply sympathised" with the family of a prelate whom he had so highly distinguished, respected, and loved.—*Gentleman's Magazine* for 1822, pp. 469, 470.

† The King of course alludes to the seizure of the Government of France by Napoleon, and his nomination as First Consul, in the month of December, 1799.

to express the pleasure he has received from reading the letter I have shown him from Hartlebury His words last night were—'Why, this is the same amiable good man I knew as Bishop of Lichfield'" *

The King to the Bishop of St David's

"MY LORD, "WINDSOR, *Dec 29th*, 1799

"The cordial satisfaction I have derived from hearing the five sermons you have preached during your Residence, and that most excellent one at my Chapel on Christmas day, obliges me to thank you on paper, and to assure you that I shall feel most happy when I shall judge it the proper opportunity to advance you to a more lucrative Bishopric Your talents and exemplary conduct would alone stimulate me, had I not the additional motive of your being a son of the truest and best friend I ever had, and out of regard to his memory I truly rejoice that he has in the Church and Army two sons who will ever reflect credit on the name of Stuart †

"I cannot conclude without expressing my warmest hopes that you will publish some Treatise in defence of the Christian Religion

"GEORGE R" ‡

No long time elapsed, as will be seen by the three following letters, before the King had the satisfaction of being able to keep his promise to the Bishop of St David's —

The King to Lady Charlotte Finch

WINDSOR *July 13th*, 1800

"An earnest desire of promoting the permanent happiness of all my subjects actuates every desire of my heart, and I am certain this can in no manner be more effectually attained than by the most careful attention in filling up the vacancies in the Church, and more particularly in the more exalted situations This has made me reflect much on the now vacant Archbishopric of Armagh, and I am clearly of opinion that the talents and zeal for religion, besides the being a man of noble family, points out the Bishop of St David's as peculiarly suited for that preferment. Whilst he

* Stuart MS. and Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. 513

† The son in the army was Lieutenant-General the Hon Sir Charles Stuart, K.B. See *ante*, p. 151 note. ‡ Stuart MS.

was out of health I deferred wishing to know his sentiments (this subject, as on those occasions men are not able to jud(with firmness, but rather view the difficulties that ever attend ar change. I wish, therefore, Lady Charlotte Finch would, throug the channel of Mrs. Stuart,* apprise the bishop of my earnest wis to place him where he can be of such use; and that in point (emolument it is infinitely more lucrative than is in general suppose(I know that will not actuate him, but at the same time, with a increasing family it ought not to be disregarded.

"GEORGE R." †

The King to Lady Charlotte Finch.

"WINDSOR, *July 18th*, 1800.

"Yesterday I received the Bishop of St. David's lette(The diffidence he expressed as to his health I rather expected, but though the Irish climate is damp, it is uncommonly mild, an(consequently not void of merit.

"I certainly had fully viewed the advantages that must arise t(the cause of religion and virtue in Ireland by the promotion o(the Bishop of St. David's to the vacant Primacy of that part of the British empire, that I should not fulfil my duty if I did not in the most explicit manner now call on him to accept of that eminent situation; nor do I think he would show the zeal I know he possesses for those two great objects, if he does not instantly yield to this fresh communication of my sentiments on this subject.

"GEORGE R." ‡

The evident reluctance of Dr. Stuart to accept the Primacy of Ireland appears to have been mainly owing to certain conditions with which the Duke of Portland sought to shackle his acceptance of that high dignity, the result of which was a correspondence between the Bishop and his Grace, which the latter, apparently unacquainted with the King's strong personal views on the matter, thought proper to lay before His Majesty. The King, it will be perceived, took in a very decided manner the part of the Bishop, the consequence of which was his prompt transla-

* Lady Charlotte Finch was aunt to Mrs. Stuart; Lady Charlotte and Mrs. Stuart's mother, Lady Juliana Penn, being severally daughters of Thomas, first Earl of Pomfret. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 90 note.

† Stuart MS.

‡ Ibid.

tion from the See of St. David's to the Archbishopric of Armagh:—

The King to the Bishop of St. David's.

"KEW, *October 16th*, 1800

"I communicate to the Bishop of St. David's a copy of a letter I have this morning sent to the Duke of Portland, and call on him *in the most serious manner to accept of that dignity in Ireland where I know he will do good, but approve of his not hampering himself with promises*, which can by no means be advantageous to his new situation.

"GEORGE R." *

The King to the Duke of Portland.

"KEW *October 16th*, 1800

"I have read the Duke of Portland's correspondence with the Bishop of St. David's, which he put yesterday into my hands. I confess I should have been glad if the Duke of Portland's natural desire of obliging had not been carried so far as to interfere by recommending an agent to the future Primate of Ireland, which, it not having been customary, he certainly would not have done to any English bishop. The getting a proper Archbishop of Armagh I look upon as an essential duty. I am convinced that in the Bishop of St. David's I have found the most suitable person. I certainly trust he will do credit to my personal nomination, and prove a bright example to the Irish bench, but I can by no means wish he shall be hampered in his income, and he ought not to make any promises; but when, by going to Ireland, he shall have examined his affairs, place them in the manner he himself shall think most advisable. I certainly cannot accept the Bishop's desire of declining what I think to the advantage of religion and good morals, and, therefore, desire the Duke of Portland will acquaint him that I have ordered the warrant *for his appointment to the* Primacy to be prepared, as also one as Prelate of the Order of St. Patrick." †

The 15th of May, 1800, was distinguished by two incidents that befell George the Third, which at the time created a considerable sensation. On the morning of that

* Stuart MS. † Ibid.

day the King was reviewing the Grenadier Guard Hyde Park, when, during some firing from centre to f a gentleman of the name of Ongley, who was standing much more than twenty yards from him, received a mus ball in the fleshy part of one of his thighs. Subseq inquiries induced the belief that the ball had slipped the musket by accident; nevertheless at the time it thought to be the work of an assassin. The King, h ever, manifested neither suspicion nor alarm. On contrary, instead of quitting the ground, he calmly r towards the injured gentleman, at the same time giv directions for the surgeon of the Grenadiers to exam and dress his wound, and enjoining Lord Cathcart, one his military staff, to ascertain the address of the suffer whom he subsequently caused to be attended at his own re dence by two military medical officers of rank. "At a revi of the Guards in Hyde Park," writes an accomplished co temporary on the same day, "a person was shot who sto at no great distance from the King, a clerk in the Na Office. The ball pierced his thigh, then went throug the coat of a Frenchman, and spent itself against the brea of a boy, without doing him any harm."—"The King, writes the same authority, "very manfully stood five volley after the accident took place. When it was proposed t send the Princesses away, he said—'I will not have one o them stir for the world.'"*

But it was the second peril which befell the King in th course of the twenty-four hours, that occasioned the greatest amount of excitement among his subjects. It had been publicly announced that, in the evening, he was to attend the performances at Drury Lane Theatre. The play which he had bespoken was Colley Cibber's sprightly comedy, 'She Would and She Would Not.' As might be expected,

* Memoir of William Marsden, D.C.L., F.R.S., written by Himself, p. 96 note, and p. 97 note. Privately printed.

the theatre was crammed to the roof with a loyal audience, anxious to congratulate their Sovereign on his recent escape The first notes, therefore, of "God save the King" no sooner announced the King's arrival, than the building rang with a burst of joyous acclamation, which, a moment afterwards was converted into an uproar of consternation and rage The King, on entering the royal box, had proceeded at once to the front of it, and was in the act of bowing his thanks to the audience, when a man, who had secured a place in the front row of the pit, availing himself of the opportunity of every eye in the theatre being directed towards the royal box, stood up on one of the benches, and deliberately discharged a horse pistol at the King Two slugs passed over the head of the King, who, notwithstanding the imminence and suddenness of the peril, never for a moment lost his self possession "Never," writes Michael Kelly, the author of the 'Reminiscences,' who was on the stage at the time, "shall I forget His Majesty's coolness The whole audience was in an uproar The King, on hearing the report of the pistol, retired a pace or two, stopped, and stood firmly for an instant, then came forward to the front of the box, put his opera glass to his eye, and looked round the house without the smallest appearance of alarm or discomposure * The Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Salisbury, urged the King to retire into the ante room of the royal box, but the advice was peremptorily rejected "Sir," he said, 'you discompose me as well as yourself, I shall not stir one step" All his anxiety seemed to centre in the Queen and Princesses, who, not having entered the royal box at the moment when the shot was fired, might possibly receive exaggerated accounts of what had occurred, and accordingly, with his usual promptitude, he ordered that the stage curtain should be at once drawn up and that the performances should

* Reminiscences of Michael Kelly vol. ii. p. 156.

commence, as if nothing unusual had happened. Three times, during the night, the national anthem was demanded by the audience; Mrs. Jordan, on the second occasion, slipping into the hands of Kelly the following additional stanza, which Sheridan had composed behind the scenes on the spur of the moment:—

> "*From every latent foe,*
> *From the assassin's blow,*
> *God save the King!*
> *O'er him Thine arm extend;*
> *For Britain's sake defend*
> *Our father, Prince, and friend;*
> *God save the King!*"

Kelly's voice, as he himself informs us, faltered with agitation as he repeated the stanza; yet it did not prevent its being three times called for by the audience, and three times received with the most rapturous approbation.*

Another eminent actor, who performed before the King on this occasion, was John Bannister, who in later years used to take a pleasure in recounting to his friends the incidents of that eventful evening. From the time, he said, that the shot was fired, the audience continued restless and inattentive; the agitation felt by the actors was evident by the slovenly manner in which they went through their parts; while the only person who remained calm and self-possessed was the object of all this commotion, the King himself.† It was one of the peculiarities of George the Third, when he attended the theatre, to doze for a few moments between the conclusion of the play and the commencement of the afterpiece. This luxury it might be supposed he would have foregone on the present exciting occasion. On the contrary, he closed his eyes at the accustomed time, and, to the surprise of his suite, enjoyed his nap as usual.‡ The Queen and the Princesses,

* Kelly's Reminiscences, vol. ii. pp. 156-158.
† Bannister's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 58.
‡ Wraxall's Historical Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30, 3rd edition.

on the other hand, are said to have been constantly in tears during the evening "The King," writes Hannah More to one of her sisters, "was wonderfully great and collected through the *whole*, but when the house continued shouting for an unreasonable length of time, he appeared much affected, sat down, and looked for a minute on the ground When he got home he said to the Queen—'As it is all safe, I am not sorry it has happened, for I cannot regret anything that has caused so much affection to be displayed'"*

In the mean time, the intended assassin had been immediately seized by the persons near him, and dragged over the spikes of the orchestra into the music room beneath the stage His name proved to be James Hadfield He had formerly been a loyal and gallant soldier in the 15th Light Dragoons, and, as was afterwards adduced in evidence, had been more than once severely wounded in the head At his trial for high treason, which took place at the Court of King's Bench on the 26th of June, it was proved by the clearest evidence that he was afflicted with insanity, on which ground he was consequently acquitted, and ordered to be committed to Bedlam for the remainder of his days So crowded, it may be mentioned, was the first levee held by the King after the attempt on his life, that Somerville the historian, who was to have been presented to him by the Duke of Portland, was compelled to return to his lodgings disappointed of the expected honour "*The multitude*," he writes, "*of persons of distinction, of every party, who came to offer their congratulations to His Majesty upon that event, was beyond what had been remembered, and left no time for new introductions* I was amply compensated for my disappointment by witnessing the congratulatory addresses of the Houses of Parliament, and of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, presented to

* Memoirs of Hannah More vol. iii. pp 106 107 3rd edition.

His Majesty on the throne, and hearing his answer, delivered with great dignity, and with sensible emotion when he referred to the danger which he had escaped."*

During the summer of 1800, we find the King taking a strong interest in the progress through Parliament of that wise and salutary measure, the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, the expediency of which he had long since been one of the first to advocate.† To Mr. Pitt he writes on the 6th of May—"I shall receive the joint Address of the two Houses, which will, I trust, effect one of the most useful measures that has been effected during my reign—one that will give stability to the whole empire, and, from the want of industry and capital in Ireland, be little felt by this country as diminishing its trade and manufactures; for the advantages to Ireland can only arise by slow degrees, and the wealth of Great Britain will undoubtedly, by furnishing the rest of the globe with its articles of commerce, not feel any material disadvantage in that particular from the future prosperity of Ireland."‡ Notwithstanding the hostility to the passing of the Act of Union, on the part of Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and Tierney, it became, on the 2nd of July, the law of the land, and on the 1st of January, 1801, the imperial Union banner waved for the first time over Dublin Castle.

Unhappily, two consequences of the Union were the loss to the country, for a long time to come, of the services of Mr. Pitt, and the infliction on the King of an amount of distress and anxiety such as he could little have anticipated. Mr. Pitt, it is true, had succeeded in uniting the two

* The Rev. T. Somerville's Memoirs of his Own Life and Times, pp. 302, 303.

† "He [the King] was one of the first to foresee, not only the necessity of a legislative union with Ireland, but some of those special reasons which most directly produced it; the unmanageable character, for instance, of Irish patriotism, 'which,' he says in 1772, 'must sooner or later oblige this country to consider whether the uniting to this Crown will not be the only means of making both islands flourish.'"—*Quarterly Review*, vol. cv. p. 495.

‡ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iii., Appendix, p. xx.

countries by closer bonds to each other; but, at the same time, no one was more fully aware that, unless some equitable and substantial concessions were extended to the Irish Roman Catholics—such, for instance, as permitting them to sit in Parliament and to hold offices of state, and, more especially, the making a state provision for the maintenance of the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy—the Union would be rendered little more than a name. The exclusion of this "great and healing measure" proved, to use the words of the late Sir George Lewis, an "irreparable calamity." "It retarded," writes that accomplished statesman, "the measure of Catholic Emancipation by a quarter of a century, and left it to be extorted by intimidation. It created O'Connell's power and gave importance to the Repeal agitation. Above all, it has left the Protestant and Catholic Churches of Ireland in their present anomalous state, with little prospect of this great defect in our internal polity being removed by a fair and equitable adjustment."* Moreover, Mr. Pitt had another strong, and indeed personal, motive for pressing *the question of Catholic Emancipation upon the consideration* of his Sovereign. During the time that he had been

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adv
clergy in Ireland. He writes (*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxvi. p 278) "We take this opportunity of repeating our solemn admonition that, until this step be taken, Ireland never can be reclaimed from the political disaffection, the religious bigotry, and the Celtic barbarism, which are the real causes of all her material as well as her moral miseries." Mr Croker at the same time assumes that these were "His Majesty's views on this subject," but on this point he was mistaken. To Mr. Pitt we find the King writing on the 24th of January, 1799. "I cannot help expressing to Mr. Pitt some surprise at having seen, in a letter from Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland on Monday, an idea of an established stipend, by the authority of Government, for the Catholic clergy of Ireland I am certain any encouragement to such an idea must give real offence to the Established Church in Ireland, as well as to the true friends of our Constitution, for it is certainly creating a second Church Establishment, which could not but be highly injurious The tolerating Dissenters is fair, but the trying to perpetuate a separation in religious opinions, by providing for the support of their clergy as an Establishment, is certainly going far beyond the bounds of justice or policy."—Earl Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. iii. Appendix, p. xviii.

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throne to a cottage, and even to lay down his neck upon ie block if his subjects required it, but that he had not esolution enough to break his Coronation Oath—has lready been adverted to in these pages.* The oftener he King had perused the words of that oath, and the nore attentively he had studied their import, the more he had convinced himself that any material concession, on his part, of political power to the Roman Catholics, would be tantamount to his committing perjury. Were he to consent to Catholic Emancipation, he told the Duke of Portland, he should not only "betray his trust and forfeit his crown," but in all probability, the framers of the measure would sooner or later be brought to the scaffold. It was the Duke's expressed conviction that the King, rather than yield to the demands of his ministers, would have suffered martyrdom.†

Such were the King's views in regard to this all-important question, at the time when he received the indirect and startling intelligence of Mr. Pitt's intention to introduce his Emancipation measure into Parliament. If anything could have increased the distress which that communication occasioned him, it was the distrustful and ungracious caution with which his ministers had kept back from him all knowledge of their intentions. "I was

* *Ante*, vol. ii pp 42, 43; see also Twiss's Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon, vol. ii. p. 358. The following is the passage in the Coronation Oath, the King's interpretation of which entailed upon him so much uneasiness and perplexity —

ARCHBISHOP or BISHOP —"Will you to your power cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?"

KING and QUEEN :—"I will."

ARCHBISHOP or BISHOP —"Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by law? And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them, or any of them?"

KING and QUEEN —"All this I promise to do"

After this the King and Queen, laying his and her hands upon the Holy Gospels, shall say—

KING and QUEEN :—"The things which I have herebefore promised, I will perform and keep. *So help me God.*"—*Act* 1, *William and Mary*, c 6.

† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 46.

certain," the King afterwards wrote to Lord Grenville, "if they had openly, in the beginning, stated their opinions to me, I should have been able to avert it entirely." * It was the only difference of opinion, said the King to General Budé, which had ever happened between Mr. Pitt and himself. The measure, he added, "had taken him *quite by surprise, and hurt him much.*" † So little consideration, indeed, had been shown him, that, notwithstanding it was Pitt's intention to introduce the subject of Catholic Relief in the speech which the Sovereign was to deliver from the throne on the 2nd of February, it was not till the 28th of the preceding month that the King was apprised, and then only indirectly, of the fact.‡ On that day, his manner and language at his levee at St. James's unmistakeably betrayed the uneasiness of his thoughts. Alluding to Lord Castlereagh, then Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he observed to Mr. Windham, Secretary at War, that he should look upon any one who voted for Catholic Emancipation as "personally indisposed towards him." § To Mr. Dundas he expressed himself in a still more energetic manner. "What!"—he exclaimed, in a voice loud enough to be overheard by those who were near him—"What is *this*, that this young Lord has brought over which they are going to throw at my head? I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes any such measure—the most Jacobinical thing I

* Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 298.

† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 8, 9.

‡ Pitt's Letter to the King, announcing "*ministerially*" the intentions of the Cabinet, is dated January 31st (Pellew's *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, vol. i. p. 298), and was received by the King on the 1st of February. His Majesty, it appears, had been privately informed by Lord Loughborough at Weymouth, so long ago as the month of September, that the question of Roman Catholic Relief was at that time under the consideration of certain members of the Cabinet. (*Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 323.) Possibly he may since then have had reason for believing that his Ministers had abandoned their intention of taking any active steps in the matter, or otherwise it is difficult to account for the great surprise which he appears to have manifested at his levee on the 28th of January. See also the Cornwallis Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 333.

§ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 2.

ever heard of!" It was probably on this occasion that, on Dundas endeavouring to explain to him the difference between his personal and legislative duties, he interrupted him with the blunt rejoinder—"None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas."*

Among the few statesmen of the day whose probity and good sense had raised them high in the estimation of George the Third, was Henry Addington, afterwards Viscount Sidmouth, at this time Speaker of the House of Commons. Hitherto, the King had distinguished him by no extraordinary marks of personal favour, and consequently the Speaker was not a little surprised when, on the evening of the 29th, a long and confidential letter from the King—the first letter with which he had ever been honoured by his Sovereign—was placed in his hands. In this remarkable document, the King confides to the Speaker the "very strong apprehensions" which he entertains that "a most mischievous measure" for enabling Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament is in contemplation by the Cabinet, and earnestly urges him to use his utmost endeavours to divert his friend, the Premier, from his purpose. "I should be taking up the Speaker's time very uselessly," writes the King, "if I said more, as I know we think alike on this great subject. I wish he would, *from himself*, open Mr. Pitt's eyes on the danger arising from the agitating this improper question, which may prevent his ever speaking to me on a subject on which I can scarcely keep my temper."†

The Speaker at once sought an interview with Mr. Pitt, upon whose mind he endeavoured to impress his own strong convictions and those of his royal master, but whom he found quite as impracticable as the King. The effect of this interview was to evince to the Premier

* Life of Wilberforce, by his Sons, vol. iii. p. 7. Rose's Diaries, vol. i. p. 303. Quarterly Review, vol. lxxix. p. 500.

† Pellew's Life of Viscount Sidmouth, vol. i. pp. 285, 286.

the necessity of his at once coming to a distinct understanding with his Sovereign, and accordingly, on the 31st of January, we find him addressing a letter to the King, in which, in respectful and almost affectionate language, he leaves to his royal master the option of either permitting the proposed Emancipation Bill to be introduced into Parliament with his "full concurrence and with the whole weight of Government," or else sanctioning the retirement of his faithful minister from a situation, which in Mr. Pitt's further words, he "is conscious, under such circumstances, he could not continue to fill but with the greatest disadvantage." In such case, adds Mr. Pitt, speaking of himself in the third person, he will "carry with him into a private situation that affectionate and grateful attachment which your Majesty's goodness for a long course of years has impressed on his mind, and that unabated zeal for the ease and honour of your Majesty's Government and for the public service, which he trusts will always govern his conduct."*

This letter was no sooner received by the King than he summoned the Speaker to the royal closet. "The King," he writes to his new ally, "has received this morning the expected paper from Mr. Pitt. He is desirous of returning an answer to it in the course of the day, as he cannot bear to keep a man, whom he both loves and respects, under a most unpleasant state of suspense, when, on the real matter of the communication, his Majesty's opinion is most completely and unalterably formed. He therefore is desirous of seeing Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons this forenoon, as early as Mr. Addington's attendance at Divine worship may be over, and that he will then come here in his walking dress."† The result of their conference was a reply from the King to his first

* Letters from the King to Lord Kenyon on the Coronation Oath. Edited by Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, pp. 32, 33. London, 1827, 2nd edition.

† Pellew's Life of Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 288.

Minister, in which, after expressing his "cordial affectio for him, as well as his "high opinion of his taler and integrity," and his unwillingness to lose "the a vantage and comfort of his advice and exertions in pub affairs," he comes to the point which was the source *his present great uneasiness. His oath, he writes, is* obligation which it is impossible he can ever think breaking; *and accordingly he proposes, as a comprom* between them, that, for the future, each shall be silent *the subject of the* contemplated measure, and thus "sta off" a question upon which it was most unlikely th should ever agree. "If," continues the King, "those w unfortunately differ with me will keep this subject at re I will on my part—most correctly on my part—be sile also. But this restraint I shall put upon myself fro affection for Mr. Pitt; but further I cannot go, for I can sacrifice my duty to any consideration." These ter Mr. Pitt, in a letter dated the 3rd of February, respectfu declined to accede to, and consequently, in a final note him, dated the 5th, the King reluctantly consented *his quitting his service.**

How ill the King's mind was at rest at this [illegible] period, there is ample evidence to prove. He was [illegible] riding to Kew with one of his equerries, General [illegible] when, after they had proceeded a short distance, [illegible] the General to ride closer to him. "I have [illegible] "had any sleep this night, and am very [illegible] well;" adding that the pressure put upon him [illegible] in regard to Catholic Emancipation [illegible] indisposition. Not content [illegible]

* Letters from the King to [illegible] London, 18[illegible]. Edited by [illegible] them," writes [illegible] memory, that [illegible] scientious [illegible] above all [illegible] between the King and [illegible]

ings to his equerry, the King, on his arrival at Kew, desired the General to follow him to his library, and to read to him his Coronation Oath. Having done so—"Where," he exclaimed excitedly, "is that power on earth to absolve me from the due observance of every sentence of that oath, particularly the one requiring me to maintain the Protestant reformed religion? Was not my family seated on the throne for that express purpose, and shall I be the first to suffer it to be undermined, perhaps overturned? No! I had rather beg my bread from door to door throughout Europe than consent to any such measure." These words, of his late revered royal master, General Garth said he was "ready to attest if called upon;" adding that in his private opinion, "they ought to be written in letters of gold."* On another occasion, after having read his Coronation Oath to his family, and inquired of them if they understood it, the King exclaimed—"If I violate it, I am no longer legal Sovereign of this country, but it falls to the House of Savoy."†

The high post vacated by Mr. Pitt, the King immediately pressed upon Addington, who, on the plea of his own shortcomings, recommended his Sovereign to choose a more eligible minister. The King, however, would take no denial. "Lay your hand," he said, "upon your heart, and ask yourself where I am to turn for support if *you* do not stand by me." Addington, no doubt, was very awkwardly situated. Although diffidence was apparently not one of the disadvantages which he had to contend against through life, the idea of superseding a statesman so pre-eminently famous as Mr. Pitt, could scarcely fail to

* From a communication made to Lord Sidmouth by General Garth, then "retired from the noise and bustle of this world, and preparing, as he humbly trusted, for a better."—Pellew's *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, vol. i. pp. 285, 286, note.

† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 22. Cardinal York was still living, otherwise Charles Emanuel II., Duke of Savoy and King of Sardinia, was at this period *de jure*, or rather by hereditary descent, King of Great Britain. He was fifth in descent from King Charles the First.

cause him great embarrassment Moreover, there were personal motives which induced him to shrink from supplanting his friend Pitt and Addington had not only been acquainted in childhood, but, since then, they had associated on very intimate terms Their fathers had been friends before them Addington not only lay under personal obligations to Pitt, but may almost be said to have been indebted to him for his political existence Eventually, however, these difficulties were mastered by the generosity of Pitt, who not only agreed with the King that it was Addington's duty to accept the Premiership, but made him the offer of his full influence and support "Addington," he said to him, "I see nothing but ruin if you hesitate" Thus pressed and entreated, the Speaker yielded to the wishes of his Sovereign, though not without having delivered himself of certain modest protestations, which it is not improbable that he afterwards recalled to mind with regret He regarded himself, he told Lord Granville Leveson, as a "sort of *locum tenens*" for Pitt, to whom he should be most happy to restore the reins of Government whenever the sacrifice might be demanded at his hands *

The following letters are interesting, as bearing upon the King's present difficulties and distress

The King to the Earl of Westmoreland

QUEEN'S HOUSE *Feb* 10*th* 1801.

"The King is too much impressed with the solidity of the Earl of Westmoreland's opinion on the unhappy question which has caused many of the ministry to retire, and particularly the one [Mr Pitt] in whom his Majesty, not only from esteem for his talents, but real affection, placed his chief confidence, to have the least doubted of the Lord Privy Seal on the present occasion As the King did not see the Earl of Westmoreland last week, he desires he will call here in his morning dress at three this day

'GEORGE R '†

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv p 9

† Original MS. from a copy given by Lord Westmoreland, then Lord Privy Seal, to Sir William Lowther afterwards Earl of Lonsdale. The King's letter is in reply to one

The King to the Bishop of Worcester.

"MY GOOD LORD, "ST. JAMES'S, *Feb. 13th*, 1801.

"It is ever a satisfaction to me to communicate with you on paper, as I have not the comfort of being able to do it personally.

"An unfortunate opinion implanted in the mind of Mr. Pitt, by persons in no way friends to our happy Church and State Establishment, to bring in a Bill enabling Dissenters to hold offices without taking the Test Act, and repealing the law of 30 Charles II., which precludes Papists from sitting in Parliament, has made me reluctantly permit him to retire from my service. My sense of my Coronation Oath, of the compact on which my family was invited to mount the throne, and the Act of Union with Scotland, precluded me from not opposing such an opinion. I have persuaded Mr. Addington to succeed Mr. Pitt, and can assure you his attachment to the Church is as sincere as mine, and you may depend on his equal attachment to our happy civil constitution, and his being no admirer of any reforms or supposed improvements.

"I feel I have done my duty, and have the pleasure to add that all the most respectable, in both Houses of Parliament, promise their warmest support; and what may appear odd to one absent, Mr. Pitt will be a warm friend to my new Administration.

"GEORGE R.*

"TO THE LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER,
"*Hartlebury Castle, Worcester.*"

The following letter from the King's favourite son must doubtless have afforded him much satisfaction:—

The Duke of York to the King.

"SIR, "YORK HOUSE, *Feb. 13th*, 1801.

"I have the honour to return your Majesty the papers which you were graciously pleased to allow me to peruse.

"If my sentiments upon the question of Catholic Emancipation, and of the repeal of the Test Act, had not been already immu-

from Lord Westmoreland, in which he had apologized for not having attended the last levee or drawing-room, and expressed his duty to his Majesty. Lord Westmoreland was opposed to Catholic Emancipation, and consequently remained in office on Mr. Pitt retiring from the Premiership.

* Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. 515.

tably fixed, the arguments adduced in favour of the measure would alone have been sufficient to have convinced me of the danger, if not of the absolute certainty, of the dreadful consequences of its being carried into execution.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your Majesty's most dutiful son and subject,

"FREDERICK."*

* Letters from George III. to Lord Kenyon, p. 40.

CHAPTER LV.

Returns of the King's mental derangement—He attributes them to Pitt's agitation of the Catholic Relief Bill—Conduct of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York during his illness—His interviews with them—Pitt's resumption of the Premiership suggested — Addington disinclined to retire—The King's offer of 30,000*l.* towards the payment of Pitt's debts—Their farewell interview—The new Ministry—Description of a Privy Council.

As was usually the case with George the Third in times of great excitement, distress of mind induced disease of the body. On Friday, the 13th of February, which happened to be a fast day, the King, on his return from attending Divine Service, complained of suffering from excessive chilliness, which was followed by an attack of cramp that affected his whole body.* The next morning, however, if we may judge from the following note, he was better:—

The King to Mr. Addington.

[*Extract.*]

"QUEEN'S HOUSE, *Feb. 14th,* 1801. 3 minutes past 10, A.M.

"This is to acquaint Mr. Addington that the severity of the weather has engaged us all to remain in town; therefore, if there is anything required of me he will know where to send.

"This is the anniversary of the Earl of St. Vincent's victory. I should think it would flatter him much if Mr. Addington would desire him to call on me. Any hour this forenoon will be perfectly convenient, as I shall not stir from home." †

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 28.

† Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 306. There is in the Auckland Correspondence a letter from Lord Auckland, dated *the* 14*th*, in which the "excellent King" is represented as in a high state of fever, and "seriously and alarmingly indisposed." This, however, is clearly an error of date, which ought in all probability to be *the* 24*th*.—*Auckland Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 130.

On Sunday, the 15th, when Addington called at Buckingham House, he found the King suffering from so severe a cold as scarcely to be able to speak * The following day, however, he again seems to have been better —

The King to Mr Addington

QUEEN'S HOUSE *Feb* 16*th* 1801

"The real care I am taking—for I have not been down stairs this day—with James's powder, which Dr Gisborne advised, certainly is removing my cold. If not inconvenient to Mr Addington, I shall be very desirous of seeing him at 12 to morrow, and though he may have much to communicate, I shall not be without information for him, which I think will give him confidence and pleasure

"GEORGE R." †

Although the King's disorder was not apparently of an alarming character, it nevertheless contained the seeds of the same terrible malady which prostrated him mentally and bodily in the winter of 1788 and 1789 As yet, however, the more painful features of his complaint had not developed themselves When Addington, for instance, was admitted to his presence, on Tuesday the 17th, although the King—whom he found seated in his easy chair, and wrapped in a black velvet dressing gown—was still much indisposed, and although his manner was somewhat more hurried and his countenance rather more flushed than usual, yet no suspicion seems to have crossed the minister's mind that he was otherwise affected than by a violent cold. In like manner, when Lord Radnor visited him the same evening, and the Duke of Portland on the following day, neither of those noblemen seem to have left him with the conviction that there was any great occasion for alarm He spoke, indeed, [illegible] a louder tone of voice than usu[illegible] judiciously"

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv p. 23.
† Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p 303.

on every subject. "He was an old Whig," he told the Duke; adding that he "considered those statesmen who made barrier-treaties, and conducted the last ten years of the Succession War, the most able ones we ever had." *

Not only did the King's bodily health, during the next few days, continue to improve, but by Friday, the 20th of February, it had to all appearance been completely re-established. On that day, he was not only well enough to attend a meeting of the Privy Council, at which Addington incidentally mentions that he behaved "with great dignity and calmness," but he afterwards went through the fatigue of a two hours' conference with Lord Eldon, and in the evening played two hours at cards with Mr. John Villiers, afterwards Earl of Clarendon. Yet, if we may judge by the tone of the King's private conversation at this time, he himself would seem to have harboured a melancholy suspicion of the truth. "He talked to his Lordship" [Lord Eldon], writes George Rose, "of his last malady, stating many particulars that occurred to him during the continuance of it, and especially dwelt on his feelings during some lucid intervals." The King also recalled to Lord Eldon's memory certain questions which his Lordship, as a member of the Privy Council, had asked his physicians.† To Addington also he had admitted, on the preceding day, that his nervous system was impaired. "My bodily health," he said, "is reasonably good. I have, I trust, good common sense, and, I believe, a good heart; but my nerves are weak. I am sensible of that. Your father ‡ said, twelve years ago, that

* Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 308. Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 11, 28, 29, 46. The "War of Succession," celebrated by the great victories of Marlborough, commenced in 1702, and was terminated by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 29. Rose's Diaries, vol. i. p. 314.

‡ The eminent physician, Anthony Addington, M.D., the medical adviser as well as the personal friend of the great Lord Chatham. He died on the 21st March, 1790, having lived to see his son elected Speaker of the House of Commons.

was what I wanted, and that I must have."*—"As
cold," said the King to Lord Chatham, on the 20th,
s well; *but what else I have I owe to your brother.*"†
ertheless, Lord Eldon, on that day, not only found him
ational and collected as he had ever known him, but,
he told Lord Colchester, he had never heard truer
sdom upon any subject, than from the King in that
dience." Referring to Lord Eldon having it in con-
emplation at once to resign the Chief Justiceship of the
Common Pleas, in order to facilitate [illegible]
erial arrangements—"Stay, my Lord," said the King to
him, "till you have the Seals before you part with your
Chief Justiceship."‡

It may be mentioned that in consequence of the King
complaining much of want of sleep, he was [illegible] by
Addington to use a pillow [illegible]
only so far worth recording [illegible]
fact of the Minister's father [illegible]
obtained for him his [illegible]

It was on Friday, the [illegible]
and affecting [illegible]
pect the real [illegible]
was not [illegible]
lowing day, [illegible]
the King was [illegible]
younger [illegible]
tressing, [illegible]
enough to [illegible]
according to [illegible]
Majesty's [illegible]
"apparently [illegible]"¶

* Lord Colchester's Diary, [illegible]
‡ Ibid. 244.
§ The Rev. Dr. Willis [illegible]
[illegible]—Lord Colchester's Diary [illegible]
¶ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries [illegible]

distress of mind and anxiety had had in causing the King's malady, was manifested by the language which escaped him in his delirium. "I am better now," he exclaimed on one occasion, "*but I will remain true to the Church.*"—"The physicians," writes Lord Malmesbury, "do not scruple to say that, although his Majesty certainly had a bad cold, and would under all circumstances have been ill, yet that the hurry and vexation of all that has passed was the cause of his mental illness."*

Whatever may have been the King's condition in the interval between Sunday, the 22nd of February, and Monday, the 2nd of March, certain it is that, on the afternoon of the last-named day, he had become so much worse, as to induce the physicians to suggest that the Royal Family should be prepared to expect the worst that might happen. Happily, however, during the ensuing night the King was blessed with several hours of refreshing sleep, the result of which was, that when he awoke the following morning it was with his fever greatly abated, and with his pulse reduced from the rate of a hundred and thirty-six to eighty-four strokes to the minute. He was afraid, he said, that he had been indisposed for a considerable time, and on being told that eight days had elapsed since he had been taken ill, he made no other remark than that he felt himself much better. Finding himself in a strange bed, he inquired to whose apartment he had been removed, and on being informed that it was the Princess Mary's, expressed his regret at having been the cause of her being disturbed. The first order which he issued was for the royal physicians to attend him, in order that they might

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 20. Such also was the opinion of the physicians who were subsequently examined before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1810; namely, that the King's previous insanity in 1801 was occasioned by the excitement consequent on Mr. Pitt's resignation. This part of their evidence, however, it would appear, was expunged before the Report of the Committee was laid upon the table of the House.—*Life of Sir S. Romilly*, vol. ii. p. 316.

y themselves how excellent a night he had passed. news of the favourable turn which the King's dis- r had taken was no sooner made known to the public, n, as Lord Malmesbury informs us, Buckingham House s surrounded by a loyal crowd, who manifested the most joy at the convalescence of their beloved Sove- ign.*

The reader, who may remember what the conduct of he Prince of Wales had been during his father's former alarming illness, would doubtless be pleased to be told that the twelve years, which had since elapsed, had wrought some improvement, if not in his [illegible], at least in his good taste. It is to be feared, however, that this was not the case. For instance, at the time when the King's malady was nearly at its worst, we find the Prince—instead of decently passing his time in comparative seclusion—apparently exhibiting himself more fre- quently than ever in scenes of [illegible] and public [illegible]. On the 22nd of February, Lord Malmesbury [illegible] dancing and singing going on at this time at [illegible] and on the evening of [illegible] certainly present at a concert given [illegible] Hamilton. "[illegible] to have asked of the French [illegible] *est aussi jou [illegible]* Harcourt, "had been [illegible] ing M. de Cal[illegible] answered, '*P[illegible]* occasion of the King's [illegible] in spite of all [illegible] seems to have been [illegible] fact of his father's [illegible]

* Lord [illegible]
pp. [illegible]
† Lord [illegible]

4th of March, when all was congratulation under the King's roof, he told Lord Darnley that, whatever the state of his father's bodily health might be, his mind was "completely deranged"—"most unfeeling language, if true," writes Lord Malmesbury, "but it is not."* In politics, also, we find him taking so extreme a part against his father's Government, as to celebrate, on the 12th of February, the conversion to ultra-Liberal principles of Lords Cowper and Darnley, by inviting them to dinner at Carlton House. "His language," writes Lord Malmesbury, "is such as would better become a member of the Opposition than the heir to these kingdoms."†

Fortunately for the King's peace of mind, he had the great satisfaction, on recovering his reason, of learning that, however indifferent had been the recent conduct of his heir, that of the Duke of York had been all that he could desire. The Duke, happily, had no sooner weaned himself from the influence which his brilliant elder brother had long exercised over his mind, than he began to appreciate the virtues and to value the affection of his high-minded parent. "The Duke of York," writes Lord Malmesbury, on the 11th of February, "remains firm to the King, and is as discreet in his language, as proper in his conduct." Again, his Lordship writes on the 26th—"Duke of York's behaviour incomparable. He is their great and only comfort and support at the Queen's House, and, without his manly mind and advice, neither the Queen nor the Princesses would be able to bear up under their present distress." So assiduous, indeed, had been the Duke in his attendance at the Palace, and so sensibly had his feelings been affected by constantly witnessing the sufferings of the King, and the distress and anxiety of his mother and sisters, that by the end of the month he

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 32.

† Ibid. p. 6.

was almost worn out. When, on the 5th of March, Lord Malmesbury spoke to him of the pleasure which his conduct must afford the King, and how much it must have endeared him to the Royal Family, the Duke, we are *told*, was "affected to the greatest degree," and with difficulty suppressed his tears.*

In the mean time, although the King's continued and constant recurrence to the painful subject of Catholic Emancipation occasioned some uneasiness to his physicians, his health continued gradually to improve. On the 6th he was well enough to entertain the Duke of Kent at breakfast, and in the course of the day was allowed to see the Queen, with whom he played at picquet for half an hour. "Her Majesty," writes Dr. Thomas Willis to Mr. Pitt, "and the Dukes of Kent and Cumberland, went in to the King at half after five o'clock, and remained with him for two hours. They came out perfectly satisfied; in short, everything that passed has confirmed all that you heard me say to-day. He has desired to see the Duke of York to-morrow, and all the Princesses in their turn." †

The interview between the King and his favourite son took place on the 7th, and appears to have been a very affecting one. He had decided, said the King, on seeing the Dukes of Kent and Cumberland on the preceding day, because he could *send them away at any time*; but he added, "I wished to see you *alone* and for a long time, and therefore put it off till to-day." The Duke found the King looking pale and ill, but perfectly calm in his manner, and rational in his conversation. One of the inquiries which he put to the Duke was whether any resignations had taken place during his illness, and on being answered in the negative, he was evidently gratified. Willingly he would

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 7, 21, 22, 31.
† Rose's Diaries, vol. i. pp. 327, 332, 333. Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 28.

have turned the conversation to the two subjects nearest to his heart—Catholic Emancipation and the resignation of Mr. Pitt—but the Duke respectfully checked him. "Sir," he said, "since this point, which has given your Majesty so much uneasiness, is settled, it is better now to forget all that has passed." "You are right, quite right, Frederick," said the King; who now began to make inquiries as to what had happened during his illness. Once more the Duke protested against his agitating himself by conversing on exciting subjects, but on this occasion to little purpose. "Frederick," he said, "you are more nervous than I am: I really feel quite well, and *I know full well how ill I have been.*" Among other questions which he put to the Duke, he inquired how he had found the Queen and Princesses; at the same time thanking him for the affectionate care which he had taken of them during his illness, and observing that he feared they had suffered much uneasiness on his account. "They certainly did, Sir," replied the Duke; "but the only uneasiness now remaining on their minds, and on all our minds, is lest your Majesty should, as you get well, not take sufficient care of yourself." The King seemed to be considerably affected by these words. "I will," he said; "you may depend upon it. I have, I fear, neglected this too much, and presumed a great deal more than I ought on my constitution. Be assured I will be more careful for the future."* This day Wilberforce inserts in his Diary, "The King gradually getting better: very calm and resigned, on religious grounds."† Addington, also, who had an interview with the King on the 11th, found him as calm in his mind, and as fit to conduct business, as at any time before his illness. Of the touching affection, which not only his own family, but his subjects generally,

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 33, 34.

† Life of Wilberforce, vol. iii. p. 7.

had manifested for him in the season of his affliction he discoursed with great sensibility *

The Duke of York to the Bishop of Worcester

"MY DEAR LORD BISHOP, HORSE GUARDS *March 9th* 1801

"I have received his Majesty's command to express to your lordship his thanks for your letter of the sixteenth of last month—which from his Majesty's indisposition could not be delivered to him till the day before yesterday—as well as the satisfaction it gave him to find that your lordship's sentiments coincided so completely with his own upon the question of the Emancipation of the Catholics

"Knowing your lordship's devoted attachment to his Majesty, I am convinced of the joy it will give your lordship to hear of his Majesty being so nearly recovered that I trust a very few days will restore him to perfect health

"It gives me great satisfaction to have this opportunity of assuring your lordship of the regard and esteem with which I am,

"My dear Lord Bishop, yours most sincerely,

"FREDERICK †

THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER,
Hartlebury Castle, Worcester

On Wednesday, the 11th of March, the King admitted the Prince of Wales to an interview, Dr Thomas Willis, apparently for precautionary reasons, remaining in the apartment during the whole time of the Prince's stay The King, as the Prince told his friend "Jack' Payne, now Admiral Payne, had grown thinner, his complexion had lost much of its ruddiness, his eyes were a good deal affected The King, in the course of conversation, happening to express his gratification at the number of persons of all political parties who had written down their names at the Palace during his illness—"Yes," said the Prince, "he believed everybody had been to the Queen's House who could either go or be carried" Sheridan, said the

* Lord Colchester's Diaries vol. i. p. 253. † Bentley's Miscellany vol. xxvi. p. 515.

King, had called, but Fox had neglected to pay him that compliment; adding, in especial allusion to the conduct of the former on the occasion of Hadfield's attack on his person in Drury Lane Theatre, that he believed that Sheridan had at heart a real regard for him.* Unhappily, in the King's present nervous state, the mere recollection of his providential escape on that occasion threw him into a state of great emotion. "There was," he exclaimed in an agitated tone, "a Providence or a good God above, who had and would protect him." In other respects the King was quite composed during the interview, as was also the case when he granted Lord Eldon an audience in the course of the day. To the Chancellor, on this occasion, he spoke, as he had previously done to Addington, in feeling terms of the loyalty and affection for his person which had been displayed by his subjects during the season of his prostration. He trusted, he said, that God would prolong his life, in order that he might afford proof to his people how deeply grateful he was for their attachment.†

In the mean time, while Addington was employed in making his ministerial arrangements, the completion of which had been interrupted by the King's illness, an alteration had been occasioned in Mr. Pitt's views and position, which seemed to render it not improbable that he would be invited to resume the reins of power. One of the first questions, it seems, which the King, on recovering his reason, had put to Dr. Willis, was whether Mr. Pitt had been much affected by the sufferings which he had undergone. "Tell him," said the King, "that I am now *quite* well—*quite* recovered from my illness; but what has *he* not to answer for who is the cause of my having been ill

* It subsequently appeared that Fox had called at the Palace this same evening, though not till after the hour on which it was usual to lay the visiting-book before the King. For instance, when Dr. Willis chanced to glance his eye over the list, he found Mr. Fox's name the very last upon it, "he having been at the Queen's House on the 11th instant between six and seven o'clock in the evening."—*Rose's Diaries*, vol. i. p. 336.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. i. pp. 332-334.

at all?' Pitt, on receiving this communication from Dr Willis, is described by Lord Colchester as having been "struck extremely,' and by Lord Malmesbury as having been "deeply affected' With scarcely a moment's hesitation, he appears to have made up his mind how he ought to act He was determined, he said, never again to intrude upon the King a question fraught with such afflicting consequences, at the same time inquiring of Willis whether a formal assurance from him to that effect might not materially conduce to the restoration of his Majesty's health "Certainly," replied Willis, "and to the recovery of his life also" Under these circumstances, Pitt not only authorized Willis to assure the King that, whether *in* or *out* of office, he would never again, during his Majesty's reign, agitate the question of Catholic Emancipation,* but he is also said to have addressed to him a "most dutiful, humble, and contrite letter, in which he gave a similar guarantee in writing† At all events Pitt's mere verbal assurance seems to have been quite sufficient to satisfy the King "I told him," writes Dr Willis to Pitt, "what you wished, and, after saying the kindest things of you, he exclaimed—'Now my mind will be at ease' Upon the Queen's coming in, the first thing he told her was your message, and he made the same observation upon it ‡

It was under these circumstances that Pitt's friends pointed out to him, and that Pitt himself felt, that he was now released from his engagements with the Roman Catholic party, and consequently that, provided Addington could be prevailed upon to waive his claims to the Premiership, and the King should be willing to take back his late Minister, there would exist no material obstacle to his resuming the reins of power Pitt, in consequence of the

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries vol. iv p. 34. Lord Colchester's Diaries vol. i. [illegible] Rose's Diaries vol. i. pp. 360 426.

† No trace of this letter appears among the Pitt Papers Earl Stanhope's *Life of Pitt* vol. iii. p [illegible]. ‡ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. pp. 301 5.

new ministerial appointments not having been yet completed and gazetted, was still virtually Prime Minister. Moreover, Addington, as we have seen, had not only accepted office unwillingly, but had expressed his readiness to make room for his friend whenever such might be the wish of their Sovereign. As for Pitt, he had personally every reason for desiring to return to power. It would have put him right in the opinion of the public, who, ignorant of the true grounds of his resignation, blamed him for deserting the helm when the ship was in peril. His private affairs were in a most embarrassed state, and consequently the emoluments of office were of no trifling importance to him. Lastly, the direction of public affairs had, for so many years, been his vocation, that business had become almost necessary to his existence. But far weightier were the reasons which the community had for demanding Mr. Pitt's reinstatement in office. Above all things it was desirable, in the present threatening state of public affairs, that England's ablest pilot should be placed at the helm of Government, and few persons were likely to maintain that Henry Addington was that man. So little confidence, indeed, had his fellow-countrymen in his judgment and abilities, that not only, in both Houses of Parliament, had the announcement of his appointment to the Premiership been received "with great derision and even slight,"* but we find Pitt himself exacting a promise from his young and ardent friend, George Canning, not to *laugh* at the Speaker's appointment.† At all events, as regarded eloquence, administrative ability, and official experience, no comparison whatever could possibly exist between Pitt and Addington. In the words of Canning's well-known couplet—

> "Pitt was to Addington
> As London is to Paddington."

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* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 5. † Ibid.

Thus, in the opinion of George Rose, and probably of every other friend of Pitt, Addington, instead of accepting, and much less clinging to the high post which had been thrust upon him, should at once have pointed out to his sovereign the utter hopelessness of his being able to carry on the Government, and implored him as the only means of averting the calamities which threatened the country, to exert his royal influence to induce Mr. Pitt to remain in power. Of the same opinion was Canning. Had the Speaker, he insisted, done what he ought to have done, he would have voluntarily sought the King and said to him—"Now that the Catholic Question is asleep and forgotten, I am ready to resign my office to Mr. Pitt."*

Addington, however, viewed the question in a very different light. Not only, as has been already suggested, was he impressed with a tolerably good opinion of his own merits, but his native self-sufficiency [illegible] *to have been constantly kept on the stretch* [illegible] encouraging assurances of his near [illegible] Bonds, the Bragges, and Hileys [illegible] their kinsman's elevation to [illegible] unnaturally, regarded as [illegible] which ought on no account to [illegible]

"[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]"

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* Lord Malmesbury's [illegible]

† Alluding, [illegible] speaking in the House [illegible] —"He heard very [illegible] that about this [illegible] the second [illegible] Addington [illegible] Bence, [illegible]

Brother Bragge, and brother Hiley!
Cheer him when he speaks so vilely,
Cheer him when his audience flag,
Brother Hiley, brother Bragge!"

CANNING; *Ode to The Doctor*

Accordingly, when some of Addington's less intereste friends suggested to him that now was the time for him t display his patriotism, by inducing the King to permi him to resign the Premiership in favour of his illustriou friend, his answer was such as might be expected from a man who was not without ambition, who enjoyed the favour and confidence of his sovereign, and who had been afforded time to look about him and to grow warm in the possession of power. It had been owing to no fault of his own, he said, that he had been removed from his former dignified and lucrative employment, neither was it by his own wish that he had been promoted to his present high post—a post for which he had expressed no desire. With regard, however, he added, to "opening the matter" to the King, he should certainly not be the person to take the initiative. Those who thought proper to advise him to take that step might do so if they pleased, but he would venture to suggest that it would be as well to ascertain, in the first instance, the opinion of the royal physicians "as to the effect which such a proposition might have upon his Majesty's present state of health." This language, on its being repeated to Pitt, at once decided his line of conduct. Willingly as he would have remained in his old quarters in Downing Street, he had all along declared that, unless at "the King's earnest wish, and also at Mr. Addington's earnest wish," he would sanction no attempts to reinstate the Administration of which he had been the head; and accordingly he now intimated to his partisans, not only that he was of opinion that any further agitation of the question would be exceedingly improper, but that he should no longer consider

that person as his friend who withheld his support from the new Ministry * Doubtless, a single word from the King at this time would have induced Addington to resign in favour of his friend and benefactor, but that word was never spoken Very possibly the King may have over estimated the disinterestedness of *Addington's conduct in* having accepted the Premiership, and he may therefore have shrunk from being a party to his removal from a post which his own urgent solicitations had prevailed upon him to fill At all events, Pitt's unqualified promise to extend his full countenance and support to the new Administration evidently rendered the necessary changes in the Cabinet far less disagreeable to the King than they might otherwise have been Thus, at the first levee which he held at St James's Palace after his recovery, we find him drawing his present and his ex Minister into a recess under one of the windows, and observing to them emphatically—"If we three do but keep together all will do well" †

In the mean time, ever since the King had been prostrated by the intelligence that Pitt intended to introduce a Roman Catholic Bill into Parliament, he had declined seeing his late Minister in private, and consequently, of late, all communication between them had taken place in writing "I thought," said the King to General Harcourt, "we should both perhaps say something we should be sorry for We might both be warm in argument, and therefore I thought it much better that we should put our thoughts on paper, and I sent for the Speaker as the friend of both" ‡ The time, however, had now arrived, when it was necessary that a parting interview should take place between them, in order to enable Pitt to deliver up the seals of office to his Sovereign The day which was to

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i pp. 258 259

† Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 331, *note*.

‡ Lady Harcourt's Diary, Massey's Hist. of England, vol. iv p. 503 *note*

his Minister, he would still allow him to consider him as his friend, that he would come to him whenever he wished it, and could do so with propriety, and that at all events he would pay him a visit at Weymouth in the summer "He was sure," said Pitt to Rose, "the King would be greatly relieved by their interview being over and his resignation accepted," adding that, "as for himself, his own mind was greatly relieved" * When they parted it seems to have been with the kindest feelings of mutual regard and respect Mr Pitt's entire conduct, said the King both to Rose and to Lord Eldon, merited his warmest and most unqualified approbation, he possessed *his highest esteem and good opinion*, his conduct, especially at the time of his quitting office, was beyond all comparison more honourable than that of *any*—laying a strong emphasis on the word *any*—of his predecessors † In like manner, Pitt did justice to the righteous intentions of his Sovereign Though the King's scruples, he observed to Addington, must necessarily be a matter of regret to him, he could not but revere him for his steadiness and conscientiousness ‡

Neither did the King, on this occasion, confine himself to mere verbal expressions of approval and personal regard Pitt at this time, in consequence of his loss of official income, and the little attention which he had been in the habit of paying to the management of his domestic affairs, was threatened with great pecuniary embarrassment At any moment an execution might be put into the small house to which he had retired in Park Place, St James's Any morning he might awake to find himself without a chair in his drawing-room, or a horse in his stables The King had taken an opportunity of interrogating Lord Grenville on the subject, but that nobleman, ignorant

* Rose's Diaries, vol. i pp. 335, 336, 337 † Ibid., pp 297 305 306.
‡ Lady Harcourt's Diary, Massey's Hist. of England, vol. iv p. 563 *note*.

apparently of the true state of his cousin's finances, intimated his belief that he laboured under no very considerable pecuniary difficulties. The King, however, contrived to ascertain the truth from other quarters, and accordingly Rose was authorized by him to make Pitt the noble offer of 30,000*l.*; the King merely stipulating that the embarrassed statesman should be kept in ignorance of the name of the donor. True it is, that the gift was unhesitatingly refused by Pitt, but the fact in no degree detracts from the credit due to the King. "The scheme," writes Rose to Sir Herbert Taylor, "was found to be impracticable without a communication with Mr. Pitt. On the mention of it to him, he was actually more affected than I recollect to have seen him on any occasion; but he declined it, though with the deepest sense of gratitude possible. It was indeed one of the latest circumstances he mentioned to me, with considerable emotion, towards the close of his life." It was for certain reasons the wish of Mr. Rose, after Mr. Pitt's death, that the King's generosity should be made known to the public, but his Majesty would on no account permit his name to be used on the occasion. "It would bear the appearance," he said, "of making a parade of his intentions."*

The following brief communications were the last which, for a long while to come, Pitt was destined to receive from his Sovereign. The first of them, commencing "My dear Pitt," was evidently written on the same day on which Pitt, though no longer in office, brought forward the Budget which he had previously framed for the current year, and is curious as being apparently the only occasion of George the Third having ever begun a letter to a subject in similar familiar phraseology.

* Rose's Diaries, vol. i. pp. 338, 403; vol. ii. pp. 214-16.

"Feb. 18, 1801. [illegible] P.M.

"MY DEAR PITT,

"As you are closing, much to my sorrow, your political career, I cannot help expressing the joy I feel that the Ways and Means for the present year have been this day agreed to in Committee without any debate, and apparently to the satisfaction of the House.

"G. R."

"February 2[illegible], 1801.

"His Majesty cannot help expressing infinite satisfaction at Mr. Pitt's feeling the expressions of the note the King wrote to him on Wednesday evening. They were only the effusions of the real affection his Majesty will ever have for Mr. Pitt.

"G. R."*

The farewell interview between the King and Pitt took place on Saturday the 14th of March, and on the 17th the new Ministerial appointments were gazetted. Lords Grenville and Spencer, and Dundas and Windham, followed Pitt into retirement Lords Westmoreland and Chatham and the Duke of Portland remained in office. Lord Chatham vacated the Presidency of the Council to become Master-General of the Ordnance; the Duke of Portland, instead of remaining Secretary of State for the Home Department, took Lord Chatham's place at the head of the Council Lords Hawkesbury, Pelham, and Hobart, became Secretaries of State; Lord Westmoreland retained his post of Lord Privy Seal; the Earl of Hardwicke was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Earl St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Eldon, Lord High Chancellor in the room of Lord Loughborough, who obtained a step in the peerage as Earl of Rosslyn.

Of all the arrangements which took place at this time, unquestionably the one which was personally the most gratifying to the King was the elevation of Lord Eldon to the Woolsack. "The man"—writes the late *King of Hanover* to Mr. Croker in January, 1845—"who I should

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. xxxi. [illegible]

say enjoyed the greatest confidence of my late father during the latter part of his life, was the late Earl of Eldon; and I should think there must exist some weighty papers, for no man wrote better or knew how to express his opinions in a more concise way than George the Third did." * Lord Eldon, in fact, was the King's own personal nominee. "I do not know," he said in after years, "what made George the Third so fond of me, but he *was* fond of me." On another occasion Lord Eldon observed—"I was the King's Lord Chancellor not the Minister's. When I was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the King insisted upon my giving him my promise that whenever he called upon me to fulfil the office of Chancellor I would do so. He did call upon me when Addington succeeded Pitt, and I could not do otherwise than fulfil my promise." It was at this time—on Lord Eldon kissing hands on his appointment as Lord Chancellor—that the King drew the Great Seal from the left breast of his great coat, where he had previously placed it, and delivered it to him with the affectionate expression—"I give it you *from my heart*." † Lord Eldon was about to retire from the royal closet when the King observed—"Give my remembrances to Lady Eldon." On the Chancellor intimating that he was not aware of Lady Eldon having any claim to so flattering a courtesy—"Yes, yes," said the King, "I know how much I owe to Lady Eldon. I know that *you* would have made

* MS. Original. The "papers," here referred to by the King of Hanover, as promising to be of so much interest and value, have been most kindly placed at the service of the author. They constitute a most interesting MS. volume, containing, besides seventy letters from George the Third to Lord Eldon, eight addressed to his lordship by Queen Charlotte; thirty-five by George the Fourth, as Prince of Wales and King; twenty-seven by Queen Caroline, when Princess of Wales; twelve by the Duke of York; eight by the Duke of Kent, and three by the Princess Elizabeth; besides three or four others by the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick. It is unnecessary perhaps to point out, that the late Mr. Horace Twiss, when engaged in writing his "Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon," was allowed to avail himself of the contents of this valuable collection.

† Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. p. 368. *See* ante, vol. ii. p. 49.

yourself a country curate, and that *she* has made you my Lord Chancellor"*

As will from time to time be shown, the Minister who, next to Lord Eldon, grew into the greatest personal favour with the King, was the new Premier "The King," he writes to him on the 15th of March, "cannot find words sufficiently expressive of his Majesty's cordial approbation of the whole arrangements which his *own Chancellor of the Exchequer* has wisely, and his Majesty chooses to add, most correctly, recommended"†

In the mean time, satisfactory as the King's progress towards recovery may have appeared, the seeds of mental malady were evidently still lurking in his system On Monday the 16th of March, on which day he presided at a Privy Council, he was so extremely nervous, while conversing with the Duke of Portland, "as to alarm the Duke exceedingly" On the 20th Lord Malmesbury mentions "uncomfortable accounts" of his Majesty being "extremely nervous and low spirited," and, on the 26th, rumours were prevalent of his being seriously ill On this latter day Lord Malmesbury inserts in his Diary—"Thursday, March 26 Drawing room to day very crowded, Queen looking pale, Princesses as if they had been weeping They insinuate that the King is *too ill for the Queen* to appear in public, and censure her for it The Dukes of York and Cumberland there The Prince of Wales *was* at the Drawing Room, but behaved *very rudely* to the Queen"‡ Fox and Sheridan, it may be mentioned, were severally present at St James's on this occasion §

From this date we are able to discover but few particulars respecting the King's state till the 20th of April,

* Life of Wilberforce, vol iii. p. 2 With *respect to Lord Eldon* having abandoned the profession of the Church for that of the Bar *see* Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon vol. i pp. 84, &c second edition.

† Pellew's *Life* of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p 303.

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv pp 50 51, 54

§ Rose's *Diaries* vol. i. p. 339

on which day he rode with the Prince of Wales to Kew That, at this time, his mind was still in a partially deranged state there seems to be little question. Not only, on his arrival at Kew, was he observed to be in an agitated state—"conversing with a great number of people, workmen and others"*—but, as will presently be seen, he most incautiously, in the course of conversation with his eldest son, gave utterance to the same confused and fanciful intention which had been uppermost in his mind during his former attack of insanity in 1788-9, of resigning the Crown of Great Britain, and retiring, for the sake of ease and quiet, to his German Electorate. In whatever terms, or in whatever condition of mind, that intention may have been expressed, the Prince would, at all events, seem to have lost but little time in endeavouring to turn the conversation to his own advantage. "Lord Eldon," writes Rose on the 21st, "was prevented dining with me this day to meet Mr. Pitt, by having been sent for by the Prince of Wales. On his attending his Royal Highness, the Prince told his lordship that it was the intention of his Majesty, declared yesterday, to devolve the Government on him, the Prince; that he wished the Chancellor would consider the proper mode of that being carried into effect, and *that it was the King's intention to retire to Hanover or to America*." The Prince further stated—"That the Queen and his brothers wished him to take measures for confining the King; that his Royal Highness very greatly disliked the Willis family being about the King, and he was therefore desirous of knowing if they were placed there by any authority, or how they might be got rid of; that his Royal Highness had seen Lord Thurlow, and wished the Chancellor to see him." This Lord Eldon declined doing; at the same time replying to the Prince in the most guarded manner possible.

* Rose's Diaries, vol. i. p. 346.

As for the Willis family, he said that they were placed about the King's person, not by any positive authority, but "on grounds of propriety and notorious necessity" With Lord Rosslyn also, at this time, the Prince had two interviews on the subject of his father's morbid notion of abdicating the throne, but apparently without impressing any greater amount of conviction upon the mind of that able lawyer, in regard to the seriousness of the King's intentions, than he had done on the mind of the Chancellor *

In the mean time, the more distressing the King's condition had become, the more stringent appear to have been the precautions adopted, both in Downing Street as well as in the Palace, to prevent the painful truth becoming known to the public Three years afterwards, for instance, Fox writes to Lord Lauderdale—"It is known, and now scarcely disavowed, that he had a severe relapse, and was for weeks at Kew in such a state as neither to see Ministers nor his family" † Even George Rose, intimate as he was both with the Chancellor and with Dr Thomas Willis, appears to have failed in obtaining any important intelligence from either, till some time after the King's disorder had passed its crisis The few particulars, however, which he elicited from them were mournfully interesting Speaking of Dr Willis, he writes—"He told me that unfortunately the King had taken a decided aversion to himself and the other medical people about him, and showed great impatience to get from under their restraint, that after his Majesty went to Kew, they had been under the necessity of removing him from the house where the Queen and Princesses were,‡ but that *that* was not effected without a mark of violence from his Majesty towards him" §

* Rose's Diaries vol. i. pp 31[illegible], 34[illegible] 3[illegible]

† Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox vol. iv p. [illegible]

‡ That is to say that the King was removed from the former palace which no longer exists, to the present red brick edifice which has succeeded to the denomination of Kew Palace.

§ Rose's Diaries, vol. i. p. [illegible]

It was in this afflicting condition—"in a house at Kew, separated from his family, with the Willises living with him"—that the Lord Chancellor discovered his afflicted Sovereign. On being admitted to his sick chamber, he found that the great grief which preyed upon the mind of the royal patient was his forced separation from his family. He had made a solemn determination, he declared energetically, that unless he was that very day allowed to rejoin the Queen and his daughters, no earthly consideration should ever again induce him to sign his name to any State document, or to perform any act of kingly authority whatever. This, he added, was his fixed and irrevocable resolve, and he would abide by it as a gentleman and as a King. Accordingly, the Chancellor, who himself related these particulars to Rose, was induced to consent to the King's removal to "the house where the Queen was."*

Whatever may have been the fluctuations in the King's malady at this time, whether for the better or worse, he was not only well enough on the 29th of April to go out walking and to address a cheerful note to Lord Eldon,† but five days afterwards composed the following clear and business-like letter :

The King to Mr. Strong.

"KEW, *4th May*, 1801.

"The King never doubted that the title-deeds of the houses on Richmond Green were in Craig's Court; but this instance of neglect shows the impropriety of ever trusting gentlemen in that line with concerns they cannot have any reason to be intrusted with. In future his Majesty proposes that all the rents to be received, and all business in his Richmond property, shall solely be managed by Mr. Strong, of whose talents and integrity he is most thoroughly convinced.

"There seems no objection to naming three trustees to whom Lady Essex's estate shall be conveyed.‡ His Majesty proposes

* Rose's Diaries, vol. i. p. 354.

† Eldon MS. Original.

‡ A lease only of "Kew House" had been taken by Frederick Prince of Wales,

y shall also hold the other purchases he has made in the same nner, viz —his Chancellor Lord Eldon, Lord Kenyon, and Sir hn Mitford, Speaker of the House of Commons, whose zeal in nducting the Bill, as well as attention to obtain a proper title for e purchase of the Capel property, points this mark of confidence s highly proper

"GEORGE R

"P S —The enclosed is for the three intended trustees, which Mr Strong will communicate to them.

"G R"*

Either on the 16th or on the 17th of May, the Chancellor had a long conversation with the King, whom, to use his own words, he found "perfectly well" † On the 20th his Majesty admitted his new Prime Minister to an interview, and on the 21st he had advanced so far towards recovery as to be able to preside at a Privy Council.

Mr Addington to Lord Eldon

DOWNING STREET 21st May 1801

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I came so late from Kew, and was so hurried afterwards till half past twelve, when I went to bed, that it was not possible for me yesterday to write to you, as I wished and intended During a quiet conversation of an hour and a half [with the King], there was not a sentiment, a word, a look, or a gesture, that I could have wished different from what it was And yet my apprehensions, I must own to you, predominate The wheel is likely to turn with an increasing velocity, as I cannot help fearing, and if so, it will very soon become unmanageable God grant that I may be mis-

about the year 1760 from the Capel family the fee being afterwards purchased by George the Third from the Dowager Countess of Essex apparently at this particular period. See Lysons Environs of London, vol. i. p. 1,0 Second Edition.

* Eldon MS. Original. In Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon (vol. i. p. 373) there is a letter from the Chancellor to the King dated the 5th of May expressing on the part of Lord Kenyon Sir John Mitford, and himself their most grateful acknowledgments for the testimony of regard shown them by his Majesty in selecting them to be his Trustees.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. i. p. ... Yet on the 16th, we find Dr John Willis writing to the Chancellor— Of course we wish much that your Lordship should see the King ... again soon that every possible means should be used to reconcile his Majesty to his present control for till a consciousness of the necessity of temperance arises in his own mind it is absolutely necessary to have resort to artificial prudence."—Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon vol. i. p. 3..

taken! We have, however, done our best. The Council, as your Lordship has probably been informed by Mr. Fawkener, is to be held at the Queen's House at one.

"Ever sincerely yours,

"HENRY ADDINGTON." *

At the Privy Council presided over by the King on this occasion were sworn in two eminent men, Mr. Abbot, afterwards Lord Colchester, and Sir William Grant, of whom the former has bequeathed us a graphic account of the novel scene in which he was an actor. "*Thursday, May 21st.* At one I went to the Queen's House. At twenty minutes before two the Council sat, and Sir William Grant, Wallace, and myself were sworn in. We took the oath of allegiance kneeling, and then the Privy Counsellor's oath was administered to us standing; after which we kissed the King's hand, and shook hands with each Privy Counsellor present, beginning with the Chancellor at the King's right hand, then going behind the King's chair to the Lord President on his left, and round the rest of the table." Opposite to the King, it seems, sat the Prime Minister. "After we were sworn in," continues Mr. Abbot, "the Clerks of the Council stood on each side of the King, and the Lord President rose and read a paper of business to be transacted, &c. &c.; and upon each article the King read aloud what his pleasure was. After the business was finished the King rose and spoke to all his Council individually, going round as at the levee. He looked extremely well, stout, and upright, and joked as usual with the Ministers." †

Cheerful and well, however, as the King appeared to be, his mind was evidently still in a state of unsoundness. Four days after the scene in the council-chamber Dr. Thomas Willis writes to the Lord Chancellor:—

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 375. † Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 270.

"MY LORD, 'KEW HOUSE, May 25th 1801.

"Dr John* is riding with the King, but we conferred together before he set out, and he desired that I would write the letter which your Lordship had requested to have this morning

"The general impression yesterday, from the King's composure and quietness, was that he was very well There was an exception to this in the Duke of Clarence, who dined here 'He pitied the family, for he saw something in the King that convinced him that he must soon be confined again'

"This morning I walked with his Majesty, who was in a perfectly composed and quiet state He told me with great seeming satisfaction that he had had a most charming night, 'but one sleep from eleven till half after four,' when, alas! he had but three hours' sleep in the night, which upon the whole was passed in restlessness, in getting out of bed, opening the shutters, praying at times violently, and in making such remarks as betray a consciousness in him of his own situation, but which are evidently made for the purpose of concealing it from the Queen He frequently called out—'I am now perfectly well, and my Queen, my Queen has saved me' Whilst I state these particulars to your Lordship, I must beg to remind you how much afraid the Queen is lest she should be committed to him, for the King has sworn he will never forgive her if she relates anything that passes in the night

"The only thing that he has repeated of your Lordship's conversation is that you told him to keep himself quiet He certainly intends going to Windsor to-morrow morning early, for the day Had not your Lordship, therefore, better write to his Majesty that you had proposed, agreeably to his permission, to have paid your duty to him to-morrow, but that you understand he is going to Windsor, where you may endeavour to fix your audience for Wednesday?

"It is too evident, my Lord, that it cannot be proper, since it cannot be safe, for the King to go to Weymouth as soon as he intends Your Lordship will therefore, no doubt, think it requisite to take steps to prevent it as soon as possible I have the honour to be,

"Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"THOS WILLIS"†

* Dr John Willis.

† Twiss's Life of Eldon vol. i. p. 376-7

It will be seen by the following letter that however unwilling the King may have been to postpone his journey to Weymouth, he cheerfully complied with the wishes of the Lord Chancellor, who had evidently remonstrated with him on the subject:—

The King to Lord Eldon.

"Kew, *May* 31*st*, 1801.

"The King cannot allow any difficulty to stand in the way of his doing what may be most useful for the public service. He will therefore postpone his journey to Weymouth till the close of the Session of Parliament, relying that the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Addington will bring it as soon as possible to a conclusion. He will not therefore change any arrangement for removing the things necessary to be sent to Weymouth, but he and his family will remain at hand till that period.

"His Majesty will be glad to receive at the Queen's Palace the Master of the Rolls and Solicitor-General on Wednesday, when he hopes to hear who may be most eligible to be appointed Solicitor-General to the Queen.

"George R."*

On the same day on which this letter was written, the King also wrote to his venerable friend, Bishop Hurd, now in the eighty-second year of his age.

The King to the Bishop of Worcester.

"My good Lord, "Kew, *May* 31*st*, 1801.

"After a most tedious and severe illness, from which, by the interposition of Divine Providence, I have most wonderfully escaped the jaws of death, I find myself enabled to pursue one of my most agreeable occupations, that of writing to you who have never been in the most gloomy moments out of my thoughts. I can now assure you that my health is daily improving, though I cannot boast of the same strength and spirits I enjoyed before. Still, with quiet and sea-bathing, I trust they will soon be regained. Public events in every part of the globe appear more favourable, and the hand of Divine Providence seems stretched forth to protect this favoured

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 378. Sir William Grant was at this period Master of the Rolls, and the Hon. Spencer Perceval Solicitor-General.

island, which alone has stood forth constantly in opposition to our wicked neighbours I flatter myself, the fact of having a Ministry composed of men of religion and great probity will tend to the restoration of more decorum Neither my advice nor example shall be wanted to effect it

"I expect the Bishop of Norwich* and the new Deputy Clerk of the Closet this morning, that I may receive the Holy Communion After what I have undergone, I should not have felt happy if I had not been a partaker of that, previous to my journey in the west, and a bishop bred at Emmanuel College, and whose principles and manners are so excellent, seemed to me the most proper person, as I could have the most excellent bishop bred up in that seminary of learning

"My four sons, the Dukes of York, Kent, Cumberland, and dear Adolphus, will receive it with me

"Ever, my good Lord, yours most affectionately,

"GEORGE R.†

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER
Hartlebury Castle Worcestershire

On the fourth of June, the King's birthday, he was well enough to hold a levee at St James's Palace, where he received congratulations on his recovery, from the Foreign Ministers and other persons of distinction, and, after the levee, presided at a Privy Council at Buckingham House These exertions, however, as will be seen, proved too much for his nervous system

* [illegible]
1 o [illegible]
Cu [illegible]
the bishopric of Norwich, to which latter preferment was added the Deanery of Windsor in 1 34 Dr Sutton was translated to the Primacy in 1805, and died on the 21st of July 1830.

† Bentley's Miscellany vol. xxvi. p. 516

CHAPTER LVI.

Continuance of the King's malady—His kindness to Mr. Addington—His visit to George Rose at Cuffnells—The Court resident at Weymouth—Peace with France—Violent opinions of Fox—Pitt supports Addington's Ministry—Demand for Pitt to resume the Premiership—Estrangement between Pitt and Addington—Displeasure of the King at not having been consulted by them—Further Court visit to Weymouth.

George the Third, at this period of trial, was labouring under much family distress. In addition to a delicate domestic trouble, on which there is no occasion to dwell, he could not but take deeply to heart the unfilial conduct of the Prince of Wales during his illness, as well as the unhappy differences which existed between the heir to the throne and his neglected consort. On the 6th of June, when the King's disorder had evidently returned, the Princess Elizabeth writes to Dr. Thomas Willis—"I am commanded by the Queen to inform you by letter how much this subject of the Princess is still on the King's mind, to a degree that is distressing, from the unfortunate situation of the family." Nevertheless, as had been the case during the King's former mental malady in 1789, his heart appears to have been all softness, even towards those who had offended him. "The Queen," continues the Princess Elizabeth, "commands me to add that, if you could see her heart, you would see that she is

guided by every principle of justice, and with a most fervent wish that the dear King may do nothing to form a breach between him and the Prince, for she really lives in dread of it. I think the King," concludes the Princess, "heated and fatigued; which I am not surprised at, not having been one minute quiet the whole day. I assure you it is a very great trial, the anxiety we must go through; but we trust in God, therefore we hope for the best"* To the same royal pen we are indebted for some further interesting particulars relative to the progress of the King's disorder.—

The Princess Elizabeth,† apparently to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Willis.

"[KEW,] *June 9th*, 1801

"I am just come into my room when I found your very comfortable letter, which I return you many thanks for. I had promised Mama to tell you that the visit to the Princess,‡ intended for to-day, was put off till Friday, and now is not thought of till next week, but she thinks it right to say to you that she is to write on Friday to the Duchess of Brunswick § You may inform the Lord Chancellor of it, in hopes that he may speak to the King about not naming the subject to her, for you know what a piece of work she would make about it. I am also to name that the King told her to-day that he expected to remain better than another fortnight here. She commands me to say to you that she wishes the Lord Chancellor would show Mr. Addington that as the King is contented with it, he had better not hurry our going as he is so much better, there is hope that in gaining strength it will ensure us from having a relapse, which you may easily believe is her earnest and daily prayer. He has been very quiet, very heavy, and very sleepy, all the evening, and has said, two or three times, yesterday was too much for him God grant that his eyes may soon open, and that he may see his real and true friends in their

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. pp. 349, 350

† This accomplished Princess, the third daughter of George the Third, was born on the 17th of June, 1770 and, on the 7th of April, 1818, was married to the Landgrave of Hesse Homberg

‡ The Princess of Wales.

§ The mother of the Princess of Wales. She died in England on the 23rd of March, 1813, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor

true colours! How it grieves one to see so fine a character clouded by complaint! But He who inflicted it may dispel it, so I hope all will soon be well.

"Your friend,

"ELIZABETH." *

The Princess Elizabeth, apparently to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Willis.

"*June* 12*th*, 1801.

"I have the pleasure of saying, yesterday was a very good day, though the sleepiness continues to a great degree. I am told the night has been tolerable, but he has got up in his usual way, which is very vexatious. I am commanded by the Queen to desire you will say everything from her to the Lord Chancellor, and thank him in the strongest terms for the interest he has taken in her distress. She so entirely builds her faith on him, that she doubts not his succeeding in everything with his Majesty, who, to say true, greatly wants the advice of so good a friend and so good a head. How providential is it that he is, thank God, placed where one can know his worth! I have just seen Brown, who is very well satisfied. This morning, therefore, I trust all is going on well, though I feel that there is still fear.

"Your friend,

"ELIZABETH.

"P. S.—I assure you we are not a little thankful to you for all the trouble you take for us."†

The Rev. Dr. Thomas Willis to Lord Eldon.

"KEW GREEN, *June* 16*th*, 1801.
"Eight o'clock, P.M.

"MY LORD,

"Dr. John, who has not seen the King, will bring this to town. I have nothing to say that is in truth very favourable. His Majesty rode out this morning at ten o'clock and did not return till four. He paid a visit in the course of the day to Mr. Dundas.‡ His attendants thought him much hurried, and so think his pages. He has a great thirst upon him, and his family are in great fear. His Majesty still talks much of his prudence,

* Eldon MS. Part only of this letter is printed in Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 380.

† Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 381.

‡ At Wimbledon.

but he shows none His body, mind, and tongue are all upon the stretch every minute, and the manner in which he is now expending money in various ways, which is so unlike him when well, all evince that he is not so right as he should be

"My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"THOMAS WILLIS" *

Notwithstanding the "hurry" of the King's mind, and the morbid and fluctuating state of his spirits, we find him still amiably regardful of the feelings of those around him, and endeavouring, as usual, to impart pleasure to others Considering himself to be deeply obliged to Addington for having consented to accept the Premiership on the resignation of Mr Pitt, he missed no opportunity of distinguishing him by marks of royal kindness and favour For instance, the royal lodge in Richmond Park, known as the White Lodge, being at this time untenanted, it occurred to the King that it might serve as an agreeable and convenient suburban retreat for his Minister after the official labours of the day, and accordingly, he not only placed the Lodge at his disposal, but insisted on repairing and putting it in order at his own private expense Neither was this the full amount of the King's kindness Anticipating with the most amiable satisfaction the day on which he should be able to introduce the Addington family to their new abode, he no sooner became convalescent than he took a pleasure in riding over at times from Kew to the White Lodge, for the purpose of personally superintending the progress of the improvements and repairs On one occasion, especially, the good natured monarch was to be seen on the spot, accompanied by a person carrying a number of sticks, who, under his directions, marked out a plot of ground containing about sixty acres, the whole of which the

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 351.

King intended to have converted into pleasure-grounds and gardens, but which, at Mr. Addington's express solicitation, were subsequently reduced to about five acres.* At length the near completion of the works enabled the King to despatch the following pleasing invitation to his Minister :—

The King to Mr. Addington.

"KEW, *June 13th*, 1801.

"The appearance of the morning makes the King hope the evening will be dry. He therefore trusts Mr. Addington will bring his family, in his sociable, to the Lodge in Richmond Park; but hopes, among the number, that the lively and engaging youngest daughter will not be omitted.

"GEORGE R."†

Unluckily, the Prime Minister happened to be detained in London on some business of unusual importance, which compelled him to keep the royal party waiting for nearly an hour in the unfurnished Lodge, before he was able to make his appearance. Their Majesties, however, seem to have been in the highest good humour. Half a century afterwards, the "engaging youngest daughter," referred to in the King's note, used to describe the glee with which the Princesses explored the different apartments, as well as the extreme kindness and good nature manifested by the King and Queen.‡ On the following day his Majesty writes to his Minister—"The King is highly gratified at the repeated marks of the sensibility of Mr. Addington's heart, which must greatly add to the comfort of having placed him with so much propriety at the head of the Treasury. He trusts their mutual affection can

* Dean Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. pp. 408, 409. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 410.

‡ According to the peerages, Lord Sidmouth's youngest daughter, at this time, was the Hon. Harriet Addington, who, having been born on the 17th of June, 1800, had at this period not completed her first year, and consequently could scarcely have been the "youngest daughter" referred to by the King.

only cease with their lives"* It may be mentioned that the White Lodge—wickedly designated by Canning the *Villa Medici* in allusion to Addington's nickname of the "Doctor"—continued for no fewer than forty-three years to be the favourite residence of the amiable Minister †

Notwithstanding the happy progress which the King was evidently making towards recovery, it was still deemed expedient to retain one, if not more, of the Willis family about his person a precautionary measure, which, as will be seen by the following note, he protested against with pathetic impatience —

The King to Lord Eldon

KEW *June 21st* 1801.

"The King would not do justice to the feelings of his heart, if he an instant delayed expressing his conviction of the attachment the Lord Chancellor bears him, of which the letter now before him is a fresh proof, but at the same time he cannot but in the strongest manner decline having Dr Robert Willis about him ‡ The line of practice followed with great credit by that gentleman, renders it incompatible with the King's feelings that he should—now by the goodness of Divine Providence restored to reason—consult a person of that description His Majesty is perfectly satisfied with the zeal and attention of Dr Gisborne, in whose absence he will consult Sir Francis Milman, but cannot bear consulting any of the Willis family, though he will ever respect the character and conduct of Dr Robert Willis No person that ever has had a nervous fever can bear to continue the physician employed on the occasion, and this holds much more so in the calamitous one that has so long confined the King, but of which he is now completely recovered

"GEORGE R"§

* Dean Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 407

† The White Lodge or as it was formerly styled the Stone Lodge was built by George the First as a place of refreshment after hunting The designer of the building was Henry ninth Earl of Pembroke.—*Lysons's Environs of London* vol. i p. [illegible] 2nd Edition.

‡ Dr Thomas Willis, it would appear had already been removed from immediate attendance upon the King at least the circumstance of his letter to the Princess Elizabeth of the 16th being dated Kew Green instead of Kew House as well as the fact of their correspondence having been carried on in writing instead of orally would seem to lead to that presumption.

§ Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. [illegible]

On Sunday, the 28th of June—the day previous to that on which the King was to set out on his long-intended visit to Weymouth—the small village church of Kew witnessed the interesting spectacle of the whole of the Royal Family, including the Prince of Wales, being present during the performance of Divine service under its roof, their attendance having been expressly enjoined by the pious monarch. Later in the day, the King paid a friendly and farewell visit to the Addington family, who were then temporarily residing in Mr. Dundas's house at Wimbledon. "The King and Royal Family," writes the Premier, "paid a visit of two hours to Mrs. Addington and myself on Sunday evening, and yesterday quitted Kew, in perfect health, for the New Forest and Weymouth."* By the "New Forest," Mr. Addington means Mr. Rose's seat of Cuffnells, on its borders, where the King remained from Monday till the Friday following, and whence, on the Wednesday, we find his host writing as follows:—

The Right Honourable George Rose to Lord Chancellor Eldon.

"My dear Lord, "Cuffnells, *July* 1st, 1801.

"His Majesty came down here, most perfectly well, on Monday about three o'clock, without the slightest appearance of fatigue from his journey; walked about a little in the afternoon, and rested extremely well at night. Yesterday he rode to Walhampton to dine with Sir Harry Neale†—a visit settled some weeks ago—and passed through Lymington. Unfortunately, a heavy shower fell while his Majesty was on the road, about a mile and a half short of this place. No entreaties could prevail with him to put on a great coat, and he was wet through before he reached the Town Hall, where he remained about three quarters of an hour, speaking to the Mayor and several gentlemen. He then went to Sir Harry Neale's, and dined without changing his

* Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 427.

† Admiral Sir Harry Neale, Bart., G.C.B., a distinguished naval officer, and for some time a Lord of the Admiralty, died in February, 1840.

clothes, then rode back here, and was again wet, but changed his dress as soon as he got in. There is no describing the uneasiness I felt at his Majesty keeping on his wet clothes, because I recollect Mr Pitt *telling me that his first illness, in 1788, was supposed to* be brought on by the same thing,* but there was no possible means of preventing it. The exercise, too, must have been, I fear, too much after the disuse of riding for some time. His Majesty intends going to Southampton—ten miles—on horseback to-day and returning to dinner. I mention these circumstances to your Lordship, deriving some relief to my own mind from it, without a hope of your being able to take any *immediate* step in concert with Mr Addington and others of his Majesty's servants, but trusting that it may induce your Lordship to make as early a visit to Weymouth as possible.

"His Majesty has taken a determination to go by sea from Lymington to Weymouth if it should be found practicable, the first of which places is considerably within the Needles, and their Majesties and the Royal Family would have had four miles to go, in a boat, from the town to where the yachts are, nor could it be known, till they got there, whether the wind would be such as to ensure their taking a quiet passage to Weymouth. I have therefore ventured to suggest their Majesties breakfasting at my cottage, near Christ Church, on Friday morning. If, when they get there, the wind is fair and the weather fine, they can embark easily, as the yachts will be within half a mile of the cottage. If the wind shall not be fair, horses will be ready at Christ Church—which is entirely in the road—and at other stages, to carry their Majesties and the Royal Family to Weymouth. Sir H[illegible] and Captain Gray think *that*, beyond all comparison, [illegible] than the embarkation from Lymington. The [illegible] Christ Church to Weymouth, with a fair wind, [illegible] or six hours.

"Your Lordship will, I am sure, [illegible] with all these particulars, and will [illegible] true motive.

"I can add nothing to the [illegible] you will come here if you can [illegible]

"Ever, my [illegible]

[illegible]

"P.S.—We are [illegible]

* [illegible]

with the King. He has not suffered in the smallest degree from yesterday's business. His Majesty was delighted with his reception at Southampton." *

The King to Lord Eldon.

"CUFFNELLS, *July 1st*, 1801.

"The King can assure the Lord Chancellor he continues daily improving in strength, that his sleep is now very refreshing, and that he trusts, when the Lord Chancellor comes to Weymouth, he will see a manifest improvement, as medicine is now, by the advice of Dr. Gisborne, entirely laid aside.

"GEORGE R."†

The accounts of the King's health, which from time to time reached London from Weymouth, proved to be satisfactory.

The King to the Right Hon. Henry Addington.

"WEYMOUTH, *July 8th*, 1801.

"The King received Mr. Addington's box this morning, but the key having broken in opening that of the War Office yesterday, he has sent for a new one to Davis at Windsor, which cannot, at soonest, arrive before to-morrow, when his Majesty will answer its contents.

"He is certain Mr. Addington will be pleased at hearing all the family here are now well. The King finds his sleep now perfect, but that it is necessary to avoid any hurry. Even the event of the breaking the key gave more uneasiness than it ought.

"GEORGE R."‡

It may be mentioned, as evidence of the King's thoughtful kindness, that the following day, in acknowledging the receipt of the key, he expresses his hope that "the messenger who returned from Cuffnells called, agreeable to order, at Winchester, that Mr. Addington might hear of his son."§ "His Majesty," writes Addington to Dr. Huntingford, "had at one time an idea of seeing you

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 386.
† Eldon MS. Original.
‡ Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 428.
§ Ibid.

and my son on his way through Winchester, but I ventured to discourage it" *

"The King," writes Lord Loughborough—now Earl of Rosslyn—on the 16th of August, "has, I think, at no time when I have had the means of seeing him—every day and often all the day—appeared to be in so steady a state of health He might at times appear to those who have always seen him in high spirits, to be rather low, but the case really is that his manner is much more composed, and he is always ready to enter into conversation when it is going on, though he does not always start it He is become also more moderate in his exercise, and admits that it is possible to be fatigued Public events seem at present to give no occasion for uneasiness, and I trust they will continue in such a state as not to ruffle his mind, the composure of which is the great point on which the fate of our country depends" † To the Bishop of Worcester, the King, on the 24th of October—shortly after the return of the Court to Windsor—gives a similar satisfactory report of the state of his health "Sea bathing has had its [illegible] success with me, and in truth it was never more [illegible] for the severe fever I had the last winter [illegible] pleasant sensations These, I have every [illegible] by the blessing of the Almighty, are near[illegible] I am forced to be very careful, and to avoid [illegible] fatigue, either of mind or body, but [illegible] I [illegible] gaining ground The next week [illegible] as I must open the Session of Pa[illegible] ceremonies in consequence, but I [illegible] to Kew, that I may be more [illegible]

The all-important quest[illegible] of Parliament was the [illegible]

* [illegible]
† [illegible]
‡ [illegible]

Great Britain and France, the preliminaries of which had been signed in London on the 1st of October. Throughout England the event was hailed with extraordinary enthusiasm and rejoicings. For instance, as Colonel Lauriston, the bearer of the French ratification, was on his way to the Secretary of State's office, the populace took the horses from his carriage, and dragged it to Downing Street. To Lord Clare, Lord Auckland writes on the 12th,—"Were you not ashamed of our *bêtes*, *badauds*, and blackguards, in changing themselves into coach-horses to drag the carriage of Buonaparte's *aide-de-camp?*" * At night, all London and other towns were illuminated.†

On the necessity of peace, and the wisdom of the conditions on which it had been obtained, public men were greatly divided in opinion. It was the conviction of Windham, for instance, that those "who, in a moment of rashness and weakness, had fatally put their hands to the treaty, had signed the death-warrant of their country." ‡ According to Lord Grenville, also, the terms of the treaty were not only disadvantageous to Great Britain, but fraught with national degradation. "Lord Grenville and all his family," writes Lord Malmesbury, "are violent against it; more like party violence than public wishes."§ "It is a peace," said Sir Philip Francis, "which everybody is glad of, though nobody is proud of." ||

Other persons, on the contrary—and especially those who, like Fox and Addington, placed confidence in Buonaparte's professed "wish for peace" and aversion to the war ¶—believed that the greatest of blessings had descended on

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 137. According to Lord Malmesbury (*Diaries*, vol. iv. p. 64) the vehicle was a hackney-coach.

† Annual Register for 1801, 2nd part, p. 34.

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 61. Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. 360.

§ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 63.

|| Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. 355.

¶ Respecting Fox's faith in Buonaparte's pacific professions, *see* Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. pp. 372, 384-5.

their country. He had never, said Fox, assented to any public measure with greater satisfaction. "Even those who are most dissatisfied," he writes to Mr. Grey on the 12th of October, "only say that every gentleman is against it and every blackguard for it." * As for Addington, he was elated beyond measure. "On getting out of my carriage in St. James's Park," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 29th of September, "I met Mr. Addington. He was in uncommon high spirits, from which I readily inferred that the Peace negotiation was likely to terminate successfully." And again, two days afterwards, Lord Malmesbury mentions Addington's "childish exultation and joy at an event of which the issue at best *must* be doubtful." †

The doubtful event alluded to by Lord Malmesbury was, of course, the uncertain durability of the Peace, a point on which we find the King not only much less sanguine than Fox and Addington, but pointedly styling it an "experimental Peace." Lord Malmesbury happening, about this time, to meet the Duke of York in the streets, his Royal Highness inquired the news. "Peace, Sir," was the reply, "in a week, and war in a month." At the next Drawing-room," writes Lord Malmesbury, "the King said to me—'You are a great prophet; I believe your prediction will be true.' I had forgot what I had said to the Duke of York. The King brought it to my mind, and added—'I should prophesy the same; I am persuaded you are right.'" ‡ Entertaining these doubts, or rather, to use the King's own words, placing little reliance on the "assurances of those who set every religious, moral, and social principle at naught," he would willingly and wisely have prevented a premature diminution of the military strength of the country. "In my opinion," he writes to the Bishop of Worcester on the 24th of October, "on the keeping up

* Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. p. 347.
† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 61, 62.
‡ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 72.

a respectable marine and army we can alone expect to meet with that respect which the honourable and gallant conduct we have shown deserves." *

Pitt's views on the subject of the Peace corresponded with the views of Addington. "Pitt counselled," writes Lord Malmesbury, "and of course directed the whole." † Under these circumstances we can expect nothing less than to find the ex-Minister expressing satisfaction at the preliminaries, both in and out of Parliament. To Mr. Long he writes, on the 1st of October, that the terms are "certainly highly creditable, and on the whole very advantageous;" and at the same time he expresses himself nearly in the same words to Lord Mulgrave.‡ Nor was his language in Parliament very dissimilar from that of his private correspondence. "Whatever criticism," he said, "may be applied to inferior parts of these great transactions, they are, on the whole, such as afford great joy to the country, and entitle the Government which concluded them to esteem and thanks." § Thus, on the main point at issue, the importance of peace to the country, were Pitt and Fox completely agreed. With regard to Fox, however, his long exclusion from office not only blunted the great satisfaction with which he would otherwise have hailed the advent of peace, but appears to have embittered his very existence. For instance, at a public meeting held at the Shakespeare Tavern on the 10th of October, we find him exclaiming—"It may be said that the Peace we have made is glorious to the French Republic, and glorious to the Chief Consul. Ought it not to be so? Ought not

* Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. 517.

† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 62.

‡ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. pp. 351, 352. Memoirs of Robert Plumer Ward, by the Hon. Edmund Phipps, vol. i. p. 50, &c.

§ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. 359. "I do not regret," were Pitt's words at a later period, "having spoken in favour of the Peace. It had become a necessary measure; and rest for England, however short, is desirable."—*Ibid.*, p. 387.

glory to be the reward of such a glorious struggle? France stood against a confederacy composed of all the great kingdoms in Europe She completely baffled the attempts of those who menaced her Independence * Neither, when his friend Grey wrote to remonstrate with him on the indiscreetness of such language did he express any regret that the words had passed his lips "For the truth is, he writes, "I am gone something further in hate to the English Government than perhaps you and the rest of my friends are, and certainly further than can with prudence be avowed The triumph of the French Government over the English, does in fact afford me a degree of pleasure which it is very difficult to disguise †

In the mean time, Addington, notwithstanding the feeble ness of his Administration, had been allowed to remain for many months in the comparatively tranquil possession of power and place At any moment, indeed, an union between the three parties in opposition, of which Pitt, Fox, and Lord Grenville were severally the chiefs, might drive him from the helm of Government, but as yet he had little to fear from such an alliance Generally speaking, the country seems to have been far from dissatisfied with his management of public affairs, or rather with Mr Pitt s, for the latter, true to his promise, took his seat on the bench behind Ministers in the House of Commons,‡ and continued zealously to extend to them his friendly counsel and support Fortunately for Addington, not only had no defeat or disaster befallen the arms of Great Britain since his accession to power, but, on the contrary, her military renown had been enhanced by the successful expedition to Egypt, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in the month of March, and the splendid victory won by

* Morning Chronicle of October 12, 1801, quoted in Earl Stanhope s Life of Pitt, vol iii p 3.7 See also the Times of October 12, 1801

† Earl Russell s Memorials of Fox, vol iii, p 340

‡ Lord Macaulay s Biographies, p .14

Nelson at Copenhagen, in April. Since then, his procurement of the Peace of Amiens, and the consequent repeal of a hateful war-tax—in which light the income-tax was then exclusively regarded—had gone far to increase his popularity, and to strengthen his Administration. "Opposition," writes Wilberforce, at the beginning of December, 1801, "is melting away manifestly. Grey gone out of town; Tierney has declared himself friendly; Erskine and Lord Moira ditto. Only Fox and Sheridan still where they were, probably because Addington could not receive them. Pitt supports most magnanimously, and assists in every way."* In time of war, indeed, Addington might yet be found wanting, but even on this point there were probably many persons who agreed with the opinion of Lord Macaulay, that "Addington might easily have been a better War Minister than Pitt, and could not possibly have been a worse."† Other persons, again, there were, who had arrived at the conviction that the interests of the country were safer in the hands of men of moderate talents and moderate measures if combined with honest intentions, than if intrusted to statesmen of more adventurous views and more brilliant abilities.

"Praise to placeless proud ability
  Let the prudent Muse disclaim,
And sing the Statesman, all civility,
  Whom moderate talents raise to fame.
He, no random projects urging,
  Makes us wild alarms to feel;
With moderate measures gently purging
  Ills that prey on Britain's weal." ‡

1802. Pitt, as we have seen, had scrupulously kept his promise of supporting the Administration of his friend, and accordingly, so long as his advice was sought and followed by Addington, the kindly intercourse between them remained

* Life of Wilberforce by his Sons, vol. iii. p. 20. † Biographies, p. 218.

‡ Canning's 'Song of Moderate Men and Moderate Measures.'

uninterrupted, and the public service was correspondingly benefited Obviously, however, so anomalous a political partnership could last for no very great length of time On the one hand, Pitt had been for too many years accustomed to the occupation, the excitement, and dignity of office not to wish to be reinstated in his former quarters at the Treasury, while, as for Addington, the more familiar he became with public business, and the less dependent upon the advice of others, the more his vanity seems to have flattered him that it was to his own individual merit, and not to the wisdom and experience of his friend, that he was indebted for the success which had hitherto attended his administration of affairs Accordingly Pitt was less and less frequently consulted by him, the result being that public business was more and more unsatisfactorily carried on, and that Pitt became less and less satisfied with the Government

Such was the state of the political relationship between Pitt and Addington, when, in the autumn of 1802, the aggressive acts and restless ambition of Buonaparte began to evince to the people of Great Britain how hollow was the Peace which they had made, and how probable, if not imminent, was the renewal of hostilities Then it was that men began to ask themselves whether, in a season of great emergency, such as seemed to be at hand, the destinies of a great country could with safety be left in the hands of so feeble a Cabinet as that of which Addington was the head, and of so second rate a statesman as Addington himself Pitt, indeed, had shown himself, as a War Minister, incomparably inferior to his illustrious father, but, on the other hand, his shortcomings were overlooked by the public in their admiration of his splendid eloquence, his eminent administrative abilities, his unselfish patriotism, and the indomitable fortitude which he had displayed in seasons of difficulty and danger On the

other hand, some even of Addington's own friends, such as the Duke of Portland and Lord Glenbervie, seem to have admitted the insufficiency of their chief.* According to Canning, "his own troops," on one occasion, "were heartily ashamed of him."† "The hope is," writes Canning to Lord Malmesbury on the 26th of November, "that Addington, if left to himself, may feel his difficulties and offer to give way. But I fear, on the other hand, his great vanity, and am confident that nothing but *language* in Parliament can cure it."‡

In Parliament such language as Canning refers to began to be heard in loud and eloquent demands for the recall of Pitt to power. Lord Grenville, notwithstanding their political differences, was the first to raise the cry. "You have no hope of salvation," he exclaimed in the House of Lords, "but by a strong system of defence. Europe is at this time sunk in distraction and despair, but the energy and spirit of Great Britain may arouse the States of the Continent to a glorious struggle for their liberty and independence. If, however, there be any hope, it is to be found in measures of decision and firmness—in a bold and animated tone held by a leader of courage and capacity—not by any of the men now in power, but by him to whom this country, to whom Europe, looks up at this awful hour, for the preservation of their dearest rights and liberties."§ In similar language spoke out Canning in the House of Commons on the 8th of December. "I am far," he said, "from objecting to the large military establishments which are proposed to you. I vote for them with all my heart. But, for the purpose of coping with Buonaparte, one great commanding spirit is worth them all. This is my undisguised opinion."‖ Very different, on the

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 77.
† Rose's Diaries, vol. i. p. 464.
‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 130.
§ Parl. Hist. vol. xxxvi. col. 945.
‖ Ibid., vol. xxxvi. col. 1081.

other hand, was the opinion expressed by Sheridan in the course of debate "Pitt!" he exclaimed, "the only man to save the country! No single man can save the country If a nation depends only upon one man, it cannot, and I will add, it does not deserve to be saved It can only be done by the Parliament and the people"*

In the mean time, the state of Pitt's health had compelled him to try the effect of the air and waters of Bath, at which place—after having passed a night on the road at Addington's villa in Richmond Park—he arrived about the 25th or 26th of October Here, at intervals, he received visits from Lord Malmesbury, Rose, Canning, and other friends and ardent admirers of his great abilities, whose undisguised object it was to effect a political rupture between him and Addington, either by inducing him to take an active personal part in Parliament against the Government, or else to approve of his partisans instituting such other steps as seemed best calculated to lead to the removal of "the Doctor" from power

Of those friends one of the most persevering was George Canning—then on the threshold of his brilliant political career—whose eloquent attempts, in the course of the autumn, to induce his leader to take the field against the Government, seem to have produced more effect upon Pitt's mind than those of any other of his friends Pitt, nevertheless, was not to be diverted from the resolution which he had formed He admitted, indeed, that in the present critical season Ministers were wanting in "sufficient powers" to serve, and much less save the country, and further that, as regarded himself personally, it was not very agreeable to him to be expected to support measures which he was unable entirely to approve On the other hand, however, he dwelt with great force upon the promise of aid and advice which he had made to Addington at the outset of his administration

* Parl. Hist. vol. xxxvi. col. 1067

Possibly, he said, he might have gone too far on that occasion and committed himself too deeply, but, at all events, he regarded the promise which he had then made as redeemable by no lapse of time or change of circumstances; in fact, as "solemnly binding." Again, however, Canning returned to the charge. Pitt having, in the course of the discussion, been brought to make the further concession that a change of ministers was indispensably necessary for the well-being of the State—"Then," inquired Canning, "is not the time arrived when you are called upon by the strongest and most paramount of all duties to come forward and resume your position?" "I do not deny it," was Pitt's reply. "I will not affect a childish modesty. But recollect what I have just said. I stand pledged. I make no scruple of owning that I am ambitious; but my ambition is character, not office. I may have engaged myself inconsiderately; but I am irrecoverably engaged."*

It was in the course of this conversation that Canning adduced, among other arguments, the remarkable admission, said to have been volunteered long ago by Addington to Lord Granville Leveson, namely, that he regarded himself merely as a *locum tenens* for Pitt.† "Addington," said Canning, "has all along declared he looked upon himself as your *locum tenens*, and ready to resign his office back to you whenever the country or you require it at his hands." "Not distinctly this in conversation with me," was Pitt's reply; "but something, I own, very similar to it."‡ To these words of Pitt some interest, if not importance, seems to attach. For instance, not only in our own time has it been doubted whether the words were ever made use of by Addington;§ but, even in Addington's time, some such doubt would seem to have existed, since, two years after they are said to have been spoken, we find Lord Malmes-

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 80, 81.

† See *ante*, p. 247. ‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 81.

§ See Dean Pellew's Life of Sidmouth, vol. i. pp. 340, 341. Quarterly Review, vol. lxxix. p. 524. Lord Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. 289.

bury directly interrogating Lord Granville Leveson on the subject. "I reminded Leveson," he writes, "of what Addington had said to him when he resigned. Leveson said he *certainly said it*, and that he looked upon him only as a *locum tenens* for Pitt."*

Nor was it only in these confidential communications with Canning, that Pitt was betrayed into expressing dissatisfaction at the manner in which Addington was conducting the business of the nation. For instance, while conversing with Lord Malmesbury in the month of November, we not only find him objecting to the King's speech as being "very vague and loose," but pointing to one of the statements in it, and adding that it "*was false*."† Again, when Addington submitted to him his financial exposition, preparatory to his bringing his budget before the House of Commons, Pitt not only animadverted on the enormity of the miscalculations—estimated by him to amount to no less a sum than 2,800,000*l.*,‡—but, on another occasion, we find him expressing his conviction that "the whole of those statements were founded on *gross errors*, arising from the most childish *ignorance*."§

It was about this time a favourite project of Canning and of his fellow-schemers, to address a memorial to Addington, in which, in language as little offensive as possible, it was to be intimated to him how slight was the confidence the country placed in his Administration, and consequently how expedient it was that he should resign the helm of government to Pitt. To this document it was hoped to obtain the signatures, not only of Pitt's friends and of other persons of political importance [illegible] supporters of Government. It was [illegible] that the project might be kept from the knowledge of [illegible]

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. [illegible] [illegible] Duke of York, in quoting the [illegible] actually spoken by Addington. [illegible]
‡ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. [illegible]

some accident, however, he became apprised of what was passing, and accordingly, on Sunday the 21st of November, so early as half-past eight o'clock in the morning, he repaired to Lord Malmesbury's apartments at Bath for the purpose of protesting against the well-meant intentions of his followers. Originating, he said, as the project did in his personal friends, it would have all the appearance of a plot or cabal; besides which, "whether he knew of it directly, or, as was the case, accidentally, it would be impossible for him to escape the imputation of conniving at it, or avoid suspicions that he was a party to it." If, added Pitt, the public were as anxious for his return to power as his friends seemed to suppose, he *must*, under any circumstances, be invited back; but if such was not the prevailing desire, then "his coming into office at all was useless and improper."* The same sensible view of the difficulty was taken by the late Earl of Lonsdale, then Lord Lowther. Nov. 23. "The acts of Mr. Pitt's confidential friends," he writes, "will be considered as his own, and I leave it to your mind to suggest to you how far it would be congenial to the turn of his mind to return to his situation till the voice of the country called for it in a tone he could not resist. This may and most probably will be the case; and to precipitate that event, by any interposition, might perhaps render his services less efficacious, and subject him to suspicions he would not wish to encounter."† Under these circumstances the letter to Addington was suppressed. Doubtless Pitt's still surviving affection for Addington had its share in inducing him to treat him with more tenderness than he might otherwise have done. Not long afterwards, for instance, we find Pitt deprecating the over-zeal of his young friend Canning, as being likely to occasion, "what of all things he most reprobated," the

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 115.
† Memoirs of Robert Plumer Ward, by the Hon. Edmund Phipps, p. 93.

"embroiling him personally" with Addington and Lord Hawkesbury.*

Among other causes, which at this time assisted to increase Pitt's growing prejudice against Addington and his colleagues, was a particularly offensive attack upon him in an article which appeared in the 'Times' newspaper on the 2nd of December. "In the 'Times' of yesterday," writes his friend Rose on the 3rd, "is a most virulent and elaborate attack on Mr. Pitt and his friends, and a most fulsome panegyric on the present Ministers, but written with ability. The editor of this paper *is in habits of constant intercourse with the Minister's brother.*† The essay is detestable in all its parts, but more particularly so for the language in which Mr. Pitt is grossly censured for his skulking from office in a disgraceful manner in the hour of danger, and abandoning his Sovereign." ‡ Pitt's anger, on perusing it, was very great. He was determined, he told Rose, to intimate to Addington that, unless the article were publicly apologized for, or, at all events, publicly disavowed in some shape or other, he should regard it as being countenanced by the Administration, and as having Addington's sanction.§ On further consideration, however, he allowed the matter to rest.

Quitting Bath the day before Christmas Day, Pitt proceeded to Rose's seat at Cuffnells, where he remained till the 27th, when he set off to pay a short visit to Lord Malmesbury. "Pitt," writes his Lordship, "came to Park Place about seven in the evening, to a late dinner. Mr. Elliot was the only person in the house besides my daughters and Fitzharris. Pitt was the pleasantest com-

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. [illegible]. Robert Banks Jenkinson, Baron Hawkesbury, was, in December, [illegible], summoned to the House of Lords, with patent, by that title. On the 17th of December, 1808, he succeeded his father as second Earl of Liverpool, and, on the assassination of Mr. Perceval in June, 1812, was appointed First Lord of the Treasury, which high post he filled till April, 1827. He died December 4, 1828.

† Hiley Addington. ‡ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. [illegible]. § Ibid., vol. ii. p. [illegible]

panion possible at and after dinner, whether conversing with us or with them, and we sat up, without any reference to public concerns, till near one o'clock." * The next day, the party was joined by Canning, with whom, on the 29th, Pitt proceeded to Lord Grenville's seat, Drop-
1803. more, where he remained till the 1st of January. Thence he proceeded to Bromley Hill, the seat of his friend Mr. Long, afterwards Lord Farnborough, which, for a short time to come, he seems to have made his head-quarters.

It was about this time that Pitt paid two visits to Addington at Richmond, of one of which Rose gives us a curious and interesting account in his Diaries. "Mr. Pitt," he writes, "told me that when he was in town, after Christmas, he dined and slept at Mr. Addington's, in Richmond Park; that they were alone the whole afternoon and evening, and a considerable part of the next morning, in all which time Mr. Addington never dropped the remotest hint about Mr. Pitt returning to office; but in the chaise, coming into town, when they had reached Hyde Park, Mr. Addington, in a very embarrassed manner, entered on the subject by saying that if Lord Grenville had not stated the indispensable necessity of Mr. Pitt coming into office to carry on the Government, he should have been disposed himself to propose his return to administration, and followed that up in a way that rendered it impossible for Mr. Pitt to remain silent. He therefore said that whenever it should be thought there was a necessity for his returning to office, he should consider very attentively how far it would be right and proper for him to do so; and in such an event he should first desire to know what his Majesty's wishes might be on the subject, and that he should not decide without knowing the opinion of Mr. Addington and his colleagues about it. It appeared, from Mr. Addington having delayed this conversation till this time, within ten

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 157.

minutes or a quarter of an hour before their separation, and from the extreme embarrassment he was under during it, that he felt reluctant and awkward in beginning it, and that he wished it to be of no long continuance." *

Before the end of January, Pitt had taken up his abode at his own residence, Walmer Castle. "Pitt not yet come up," writes Wilberforce on the 12th of February; "I suspect not very friendly to Addington just now."†

In the mean time, as the language of Buonaparte grew more insolent and more menacing, and as the prospect of war consequently became greater, the desire of the public for the return of Pitt to power became more general and more loudly expressed. "Pitt's return talked of and wished," writes Wilberforce on the 8th of March.‡ Not only, in the month of January, did one of Addington's own colleagues, Lord Pelham,§ express a "most sincere wish" that Pitt was again at the head of the Government, but some time afterwards, the President of the Council, the Duke of Portland—believing himself at the time to be on his death-bed—addressed an affecting letter to the King, in which he solemnly advised and entreated him to recall Mr. Pitt to his service, as being "beyond all comparison the fittest man to be at the head of the Government in times of difficulty or peril." ‖ It has been supposed that it would have been found no easy task to induce the King to part with Addington, but such would scarcely seem to have been the case. For instance, as far back as the 1st of November, we find the Duke of York observing to Lord Malmesbury—"You well know we never talk to his Majesty on public affairs; but, from the few things

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 27-8.

† Life of Wilberforce by his Sons, vol. iii. p. 86.

‡ Ibid., vol. iii. p. [illegible]

§ Thomas Lord Pelham, afterwards second Earl of Chichester, held the Seals as Secretary of State for the Home Department from [illegible] July, [illegible] He died on the 4th of July, 18[illegible].

‖ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 47.

I have heard him say, I cannot but suppose his Majesty considers the state of them to be very humiliating to this country." * Again, on the 18th of February, we find the Duke expressing his further conviction to Lord Malmesbury, that, in the event of Addington waiving his claims in favour of Pitt, not only would his Majesty offer no objection to the return of the latter to the Treasury, but that it would "be very agreeable" to the King.†

Very different is the language in which we find Fox alluding to the possible return of his great rival to power. "There is some talk of Pitt," he writes to Lord Lauderdale on the 1st of April, "but, I believe, all idle. He knows his insignificance, and does not like showing it." ‡ "If the country"—had been the language of Pitt four months previously—"desires to lower itself to Fox and to the disgraceful level to which Fox is disposed it should sink, he is the only proper man to govern it." §

When Parliament reassembled after the Christmas recess, Pitt was still missing in his accustomed seat in the House of Commons, behind the Treasury Bench. His motives for absenting himself from Parliament were doubtless those which Lord Stanhope has pointed out. || Dissatisfied with Addington's foreign, no less than with his financial policy, he must either have supported the Government contrary to his conscientious convictions, or else he must have run the risk of weakening, if not overthrowing, the Administration, at a most critical time, when the chances of peace or war were evenly balanced in the scales.

Pitt was still absent from Parliament when, on the 20th of March, he received a visit from his old friend and colleague Henry Dundas, recently created Viscount Melville,

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 89. † Ibid., vol. iv. p. 176.
‡ Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. p. 410.
§ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 136. || Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. 1.

10 came, by Addington's express desire, to urge him to n his Administration. Whether, in taking this step, ldington was actuated by no other consideration than a owing sense of the weakness of his position, or whether, has been supposed, he was influenced by the further ject of preventing an exposure of his financial miscallations, which would in all probability have been the nsequence of Pitt taking a decidedly hostile part against e Government, are questions of no very material imporncc. Sufficient it is to state, that at the first favourable portunity "after dinner and port wine," Lord Melville)egan cautiously to open his proposals." To a statesman 10, like Pitt, had for seventeen years enjoyed almost ılimited power as First Minister of the Crown, those prosals must have appeared astoundingly unsatisfactory. ldington, it was suggested, should exchange the Preiership for one of the Secretaryships of State. Pitt, also, ıs to be a Secretary of State, or, if he preferred it, Chanllor of the *Exchequer*; a third person, apparently Lord ıatham, was to be a cipher at the head of the Administration. Such conditions as these, it is needless perhaps remark, were unhesitatingly rejected. Pitt listened to em with astonishment. "Dundas," writes Wilberforce, saw it would not do, and stopped abruptly. 'Really,' id Pitt, with a sly severity—and it was almost the only arp thing I ever heard him say of any friend—'I had ɔt the curiosity to ask what I was to be.'"*

Addington, though disappointed at the result of Lord elville's mission, was not disheartened. Accordingly, ıother common friend, Mr. Long, repaired to Walmer ıstle, bearing with him a verbal message from Addingn to the effect that he was ready to resign the Premier-

* Life of Wilberforce by his Sons, vol. iii. p. 219. The words [illegible] cepted with some modification. Pitt certainly listened to [illegible] lo had to say, though very probably with as little [illegible]

ship to Pitt, by accepting the post of Secretary of State, provided there should be no sweeping change in the Administration.* With this restriction, however, as Pitt clearly explained to Addington, when, the following even-
April 10. ing, they met by appointment at Bromley Hill—he would on no account comply. As he told Rose, he would either return to office as First Lord of the Treasury, and to all intents and purposes as Prime Minister, or not at all. "There must be a general sweep," he intimated to Addington, "and the change must be *by the King's desire, and with the recommendation of the King's present confidential servants*."† Under these circumstances the interview of the 10th of April, from which Pitt's friends had anticipated so much, terminated to the satisfaction of neither party. Addington, indeed, expressed his intention of consulting his friends before giving a definite reply to Pitt's propositions; but as loss of office was certain to be the consequence of a dissolution of the Government, it was very unlikely that they should recommend their leader to take so suicidal a step. And so it proved. On the 14th, Addington addressed a letter to Pitt, in which he closed the negotiations by intimating to him, in civil terms, that his colleagues saw no reason for the changes in the Administration being carried so far as had been insisted upon. To this communication the following laconic reply was returned by Pitt:—

"My dear Sir, "Bromley Hill, *April* 14, 1803.

"I need only acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and am

"Yours sincerely,

"W. Pitt."‡

Thus, with strong feelings of irritation on both sides,

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 32. † Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 415.

‡ Dean Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 122. *See* also Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 40; and Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 185.

was, for a considerable time, interrupted the long intimacy which had existed between Pitt and Addington It was evident, as Lord Malmesbury observes, that Addington "thought Pitt had held too high and imperious a language * while, on the other hand, Pitt seems to have thought he had been trifled with by Addington "Mr Addington writes Lord Colchester, "having never deviated from the strictest sincerity in his respect and affection for Mr Pitt, felt himself highly offended by the repulse which he met with at Bromley Hill † Other circumstances subsequently tended to widen the breach between them "Then came a dispute, writes Lord Macaulay, "such as often arises after negotiations orally conducted, even when the negotiators are men of strict honour Pitt gave one account of what had passed, Addington gave another, and though the discrepancies were not such as necessarily implied any intentional violation of truth on either side, both were greatly exasperated ‡

In the mean time, while the play of Hamlet was being rehearsed at Walmer Castle and at Bromley Hill, the character of Hamlet had been unaccountably omitted While Pitt and Addington had been employed in arranging the *dramatis personæ* of a new Cabinet, the King deeply interested as he was in the matter, had been kept in the profoundest ignorance of their unconstitutional negotiations "It was not," as Sir George Lewis [illegible] "a mere question of changing a Cabinet [illegible] which a Prime Minister might properly [illegible] nary arrangement, subject to the King [illegible] was practically a negotiation for a [illegible] the character of the Govern[illegible] sion proceeded on the [illegible]

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

‡ [illegible]

were between them to settle who was to be the new Prime Minister."* The King, on being at length *informed of* what had passed, was naturally extremely hurt and offended with both statesmen. But it was Pitt who, however undeservedly, suffered the most in his estimation. Yet assuredly Pitt was the least to blame of the two. He would scarcely, we imagine, have gone to the lengths which he had done in his treaty with Addington, unless he had believed that the King was privately cognizant of the negotiation. "Mr. Addington," writes Rose on the 8th of April, "stated by Mr. Long that the *King has not yet been apprised of any new arrangement* in the Government: *this Mr. Pitt does not believe.*"† At all events, we find him, throughout the negotiations, manifesting every desire to consult the King's feelings and the dignity of the kingly office. For instance, in an interview with Mr. Long, on the 5th of April, he expresses his "fixed intention" to listen to no proposal which had not been "made by the King's authority and with his Majesty's previous knowledge."‡ Again, in his interview with Addington, on the 10th, we find him intimating to him *that whatever "conditions or stipulations" may be discussed* between them must be "considered merely as *common conversation.*" "He must be fully acquainted," he added, "with his Majesty's pleasure, before he could say a word or pronounce a name which should be considered as binding."§ He would "in future," he declared at the close of the negotiations, "receive no overtures but such as might be made by the express command of his Majesty."‖ Rose, also, to whom the whole of the written correspondence was shown by Pitt, informs us that it established, "beyond all possibility of controversy," the fact that Pitt "refused

* Essays on Administrations of Great Britain, p. 220.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 36.

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 182. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 36.

§ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 183.

‖ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 40.

peremptorily to accede to any terms, or to propose any definite ones, till he knew whether his Majesty was really desirous of his return to office, and further that it had never entered his mind for one moment to make the admission of any individual whatever into the Cabinet a *sine quâ non*.* It was a principle which he had constantly maintained, said Pitt to Rose, that a change of Administration should on no account be *forced* upon the King. He was aware how fatal might be the consequences which such a step might produce on his Majesty's mind; he was resolved therefore not to come into office unless his return could be accomplished without in the smallest degree affecting the King's health, comfort, and tranquillity; and he added that, in thus feeling and expressing himself, he was doing "little more than feeling and speaking as a gentleman."† Under these circumstances, a few explanatory words from Addington might have exculpated Pitt from much of the blame which the King laid at his door, but, so far from those words having been spoken, not only did Pitt's friends charge Addington with "telling his story in his own way,"‡ but, according to high authority, the latter "represented Pitt's conduct in such colours as to rouse the King's wrath."§ How greatly the King was offended, was manifested by the language which escaped him after his levee on the 20th of April, this being the day on which Addington had for the first time thought proper to communicate to him what had taken place between him and Pitt. He even went so far, on returning to the royal closet, to talk to such of his Ministers as were present of Mr. Pitt's "putting the Crown in commission," adding that "he [Pitt] carried his plan of removals so extremely far and so high that it might reach *him*."‖

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 64.
† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 64. Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 191.
‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 190.
§ Sir George C. Lewis's Essays on the Administrations of Great Britain, p. [illegible]
Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 190.

It was under these circumstances, that Pitt was urged by his friends either to request a personal interview in the royal closet, or else to address such a letter to his Majesty, as might have the effect of removing any unfavourable impressions from his mind. To both of these proposals, however, he "pertinaciously objected," choosing rather to prefer a request to Addington to lay their late correspondence before their royal master—a fair request, which the other, only after considerable delay, and with manifest reluctance, was induced to comply with. "Pitt," writes Lord Malmesbury, "at the repeated desire of his friends, on the 25th again pressed Addington to lay his letter before the King. Addington did not do it till the 27th, at the Queen's House, and then probably without any remarks, or with his *own* notes."* Great, almost absolute, as had been Pitt's former power, he was now apparently without a single friend to whose tact and influence combined, he could trust to setting him right in the good opinion of his Sovereign. Even the Duke of York, who a few days previously had been one of the most zealous of his partisans, contented himself, when appealed to by Lord Malmesbury, with shrugging his shoulders and remarking that in his private opinion "both parties were in the wrong."† So ill-managed, added the Duke, had been the recent negotiation, as "to put Mr. Pitt's return to office, though more necessary than ever, at a greater distance than ever." As regards the King, when Addington was at length induced to lay the correspondence before him, he very naturally and very positively declined reading the details of a negotiation, which had not only been carried on without either his sanction or knowledge, but which, having signally failed, was no longer of any importance either to his own interests or to those of his subjects, and which, in fact, was

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 189, 191. † Ibid., vol. iv. p. 190, 191.

an unwarrantable interference with his prerogative To Lord Pelham he observed—"It is a foolish business from one end to the other it was begun ill, conducted ill, and terminated ill'* Not that we are to presume that the King's temporary dissatisfaction with Pitt would have stood in the way of his consenting to take him back as his first Minister, in the event of Addington proving more pliable or more patriotic On the contrary, it was the conviction of the Duke of York that Addington's friends had only to persuade their leader how urgently the interests of the country stood in need of the splendid abilities and experience of Mr Pitt, and the change would prove "very agreeable" to the King †

The following resumed correspondence of George the 18
Third continues, like most of his previous letters, to throw an interesting light upon his character and conduct —

The King to Lord Eldon

QUEEN'S PALACE, *March 24th* 1802.

"The King is concerned to find the Lord Chancellor is by illness confined to his house, but trusts that by a little attention that will soon effect the return of health

"Perhaps the great regard the Marquess Cornwallis expresses for the delicate feelings of the First Consul does not meet more with the approbation of Lord Eldon than it does with that of the King, who fairly confesses that the British Plenipotentiary ought to attend to the honour of his own Court, not to be the Advocate for France

"GEORGE R' ‡

The King to Lord Eldon

WINDSOR, *April 15th*, 1802.

"The King returns the Commission for passing the Bill this day to the Lord Chancellor, having signed it He at the same time expresses a most sincere wish that the Recess may be crowned

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv pp. 101, 102 † Ibid., vol. iv p. 1 6.
‡ Eldon MS Original.

with the restoration of the Lord Chancellor's health, and strongly recommends that he will not, at first coming out, be quite so assiduous as he was in business before his confinement, to which he rather attributes the duration of the fit of the gout.

"GEORGE R."*

The King to Lord Eldon.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, *April 30th*, 1802.

"The King returns to the Lord Chancellor the Commission, which he has signed, for giving his Assent to the Bills now prepared for that purpose. At the same time the King avails himself of the opportunity to express the satisfaction he receives from the assurance of the Lord Chancellor's gout having entirely subsided. That a degree of lameness and weakness still remains is the natural effect of the disorder, but will daily diminish; and the King therefore strongly recommends the Lord Chancellor not coming next Wednesday to St. James's, but the coming here on Thursday for the Recorder's Report, which will avoid the necessity of going up stairs; and Wednesday is the first day of Term, which must in itself be a day of some fatigue.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WEYMOUTH, *August 14th*, 1802.

"Yesterday the King received the Lord Chancellor's letter. He trusts that the fatigue of sitting in this warm weather in Lincoln's Inn Hall has not proved so inconvenient as might have been expected. The King is much pleased at Dr. Ridley's being placed in the Isle of Wight. His being of the family of so celebrated a man as the Bishop that bore that name, in addition to his connection with the Lord Chancellor, very properly entitles him to that situation.

"GEORGE R."

The preceding letter, it will be seen, is dated from Weymouth, at which place the Royal Family passed part of the summer of 1802, and from whence they returned to

* This and the two following notes have already been made public in Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. pp. 404-5, 408.

Windsor on the 1st of September. During the King's stay at Weymouth, the only incident of any interest which seems to have occurred was a visit of respect paid to him by the Lords of the Admiralty, in the course of their visitation-tour to the different dockyards. "After an early breakfast," writes their Secretary, Mr. Marsden, "we met him, by command, on the Esplanade, where I was *introduced* in a less formal manner than at St. James's. We then attended him to church, and were seated in the adjoining pew. Again we walked on the Parade till near dinner-time. In the evening we attended the Parade once more, when the troops were drawn out, and military music performed; after which we followed their Majesties to the Public Rooms, thus concluding a most courtly and rather fatiguing day. In the course of conversation the King asked my opinion as to the cause of the foulness so generally and justly complained of in respect to the copper sheathing of the ships of war in later times, compared with what was experienced at an earlier period. The subject having occupied a large share of my attention, I did not hesitate to attribute the change to the greater degree of hardness given to the copper sheets in the process of rolling by the modern improved machinery; the hammered plates being softer, and therefore more liable to abrasion in the passage of the ship through the water, by which the bottom, as in the case of fast-sailing cutters, might be kept comparatively clean. His Majesty appeared to be satisfied with the plausibility, at least, of my argument."* "Upon the Esplanade," Marsden writes to a correspondent, "I was presented to the King in due form. He asked me immediately how long I was returned from Ireland, as if my journey had been a thing his Majesty was well acquainted with. At the Rooms this evening the King told me he

* Memoir of William Marsden, D.C.L., F.R.S., written by himself, p. 102. Privately printed.

believed I was a great chymist, though I did not choose to confess it. We were talking about copper sheathing."*

The following complete our selections from the King's correspondence in the years 1802 and 1803 :—

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, *October 27th*, 1802.

"The King has received the Lord Chancellor's note on the election of Mr. Alderman Price to the office of Lord Mayor for the ensuing year. He has ever understood that this gentleman's conduct, both in private and public life, is deserving the character given him on this occasion by the Lord Chancellor. His Majesty therefore most willingly authorises the giving his approbation to this choice of the City of London.

"GEORGE R."†

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, *November 13th*, 1802.

"The King returns the Commission for opening the Parliament, which he has signed, and at the same time authorises the Lord Chancellor to approve Mr. Abbot as Speaker of the House of Commons when presented for that purpose. Having had the curiosity of reading the Commission, [the King] has found a mistake, the insertion of George Earl of Leicester instead of William Earl of Dartmouth, as Lord Steward of the Household, which can easily be corrected by the Lord Chancellor ordering this change of names, though the King has signed the Commission.

"GEORGE R."‡

The King to Lord Eldon.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, *February 8th*, 1803.

"The King has this morning received the Lord Chancellor's note, enclosing a fiat for adding Mr. Serjeant Palmer to the Judges on the Midland Circuit, in consequence of the Chief Baron's going to Lisbon with his eldest daughter, whose health requires the change of climate. The King returns the fiat, having signed it,

* Memoir of William Marsden, p. 102, *note*. Privately printed.

† Eldon MS. Original.

‡ Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 410.

and desires the Lord Chancellor will acquaint the Chief Baron how ardently he wishes that the sea-voyage and mild air of Lisbon may prove advantageous to the young lady.

"GEORGE R."*

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, *February 27th*, 1803.

"The King has with great satisfaction signed the Commission for passing the Bill to restrain the Bank of England from paying cash, as he is convinced of the utility of the measure and ardently hopes it may be prolonged the next year; or, if the situation of public affairs should at that time prove more favourable, that the Bank will at least be restrained from paying cash above a certain proportion of each payment it may have to issue.

"GEORGE R."†

* Eldon MS. Original.

† Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 412.

there any marks of sickness or decline in his countenance or manner. These last were much as usual, somewhat less hurried and more conversable; that is to say, allowing the person to whom he addressed himself more time to answer and talk than he used to do when discoursing on common subjects, [or] on public and grave ones. I, at all times for thirty years, have found him very attentive, and full as ready to hear as to give an opinion, though perhaps not always disposed to adopt it and forsake his own. He was gracious even to kindness, and spoke of my father in a way which quite affected me. He expressed great satisfaction at seeing me less ill than he expected; asked how I continued to keep well; and on my saying, among other reasons, that I endeavoured to keep my mind quiet and dismiss all unpleasant subjects from intruding themselves upon it, the King said—"'Tis a very wise maxim, and one I am determined to follow; but how at this particular moment can you avoid it?" And without waiting he went on by saying—'Do you know what I call the Peace?—an *experimental* Peace, for it is nothing else. I am sure *you* think so, and perhaps do not give it so gentle a name. But it was unavoidable. I was abandoned by everybody, Allies and *all*. I have done, I conscientiously believe, for the best, because I could not do otherwise. But, had I found more opinions like mine, better might have been done.' I thought the subject might agitate the King, and therefore tried to lead him from it. He perceived my drift, and said—'Lord Malmesbury, you and I have lived on the active theatre of this world these thirty years. If we are not become wise enough to consider every event which happens, quietly and with acquiescence, we have lived very negligently. What would the good man who wrote these excellent books'—pointing to the copy I had just presented to him of my

father's works, and which lay on the table—'say if we were such bad philosophers, having had such means of becoming good ones?'"

"His Majesty," continues Lord Malmesbury, "expressed resentment against Lord Grenville, spoke friendly of Pitt, and slightingly of Lord Hawkesbury. 'He has no head for business,' said the King, 'no method, no punctuality.' Of the Prince of Orange he said, he was at the bottom a good man, but with some sad defects. That he had left the country very rapidly, and asked me if I knew the cause. Now I did know why, but thought it wiser not to say so. Of the Princess he spoke in terms of the highest commendation; also of Fagel, the present Greffier. Of Nagel he said, he was a very good courtier, but not a man of business. His Majesty here is mistaken. He asked me a great deal about Russia: mentioned Lord Auckland with no great praise. Of Lord Pelham* he said he was likely to be a good man of business, and was glad Fitzharris† was under him. Inquired about Alfred; if I still meant him for the church, and if it *still* was his own choice.‡ Of Lord Minto, that he was grown more conversable, and had done vastly well at Vienna. Of the Emperor he expressed but a mean opinion.

"The Queen kept me only a quarter of an hour. She said she should see me again in the evening, as I must be tired with standing so long with the King. Spoke kindly of my father and of my dear children. Princess Mary was all good humour and pleasantness. Her manners are

* Thomas Lord Pelham, Secretary of State for the Home Department. See *ante*, p. 303.

† James Edward, Viscount Fitzharris, at this time apparently Private Secretary to Lord Pelham. He succeeded his father, in 1820, as second Earl of Malmesbury, and died on the 10th of September, 1841.

‡ The Hon. Thomas Alfred Harris, second son of Lord Malmesbury. He subsequently entered into Holy Orders, became a Prebendary of York, and died in 1823.

perfect, and I never saw or conversed with any Princess so exactly what she ought to be."*

On the 7th of February, 1803, stood at the bar of the Sessions House, Newington, Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, arraigned, with other infatuated and desperate men, for having conspired to subvert the Government by force of arms, and to take away the life of the King. Reduced to penury by having been suddenly deprived of an office which he had held on the coast of Honduras, and goaded almost to frenzy by having been subjected to a long and arbitrary imprisonment in Cold Bath Fields Prison without having been able to obtain a trial, this once gallant soldier and loyal subject engaged in the wild conspiracy which unhappily cost him his life. The chief atrocities comprised in the programme of the conspirators, consisted in the seizure of the Tower, the Bank, the prisons, and the public offices. The piece of ordnance also, on the north side of St. James's Park, then a recent capture from the French army in Egypt, was to have been loaded either with ball or chain-shot, and to have been fired at the King on his way in his state-coach to open Parliament. As regards Despard personally, the facts of his undisputed gallantry, his sufferings, and questionable sanity, invested him with a certain amount of commiseration, which he would not otherwise have obtained. In the expedition up the river San Juan, in 1779, which Lord Nelson always described as one of the most hazardous in which he had ever been engaged, Despard had been his friend and companion. Side by side they had stormed the same battery, and together had entered the castle of San Juan in triumph. At Despard's trial, Nelson came forward to bear testimony on his behalf. "We went," proceeds his evidence, "on the Spanish Main together. We spent many nights together

1803

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 64-6.

in our clothes upon the ground. We have measured the height of the enemy's wall together. In all that period of time no man could have shown more zealous attachment to his Sovereign and his country than Colonel Despard did."* Nelson's encomiums, however, proved of little service to his former comrade. On the 21st of February, Despard, with six others of his fellow-conspirators, stood under the gibbet on the roof of Horsemonger Lane Gaol, where they were severally launched into eternity. To the last he persisted in asserting his innocence; to the last he declaimed against the tyranny of kings. The day would inevitably arrive, he told an huzzaing audience, which would witness the "final triumph of the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, over despotism and delusion." When subsequently the hangman held up his severed head, exclaiming "This is the head of a traitor!" the cheers of the rabble were converted into hisses and yellings against the authorities.† It was about this time that the Prince of Wales had again the hardihood to apply to Parliament for the payment of fresh debts; debts which, as Pitt describes them to Rose, he had "contracted in the teeth of the last Act of Parliament, and in breach of repeated and positive promises."‡ Fortunately, however, for him, the facile Addington was not unwilling to gratify the heir to the monarchy; while Fox, on his part, had the assurance to tell the House of Commons that so far from the Prince having squandered his means, he actually deserved credit for having practised economy. Thus was the royal voluptuary enabled to wring from the country a further allowance of 60,000*l.* a year for three years and a half to

* Howell's State Trials, vol. xxviii. col. 460.

† Ibid., col. 528. Annual Register for 1803, pp. 370, 371. "You will of course," writes Fox to Lord Holland, "have heard of Despard's execution. It was generally thought right; indeed, I question whether I am not the only man in London who would have advised a pardon, but I would have done so. The whole business has produced little or no sensation."—*Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox*, vol. iii. p. 215.

‡ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 15.

come. Pitt probably had the Prince's debts in view, when, after congratulating Lord Malmesbury on the commercial prosperity of the country, he added, laughingly—"And to make us *quite gentlemen*, we have a debt as large as all Europe."* Feb.

Another accomplished nobleman, who, from his residing at Cooper's Hill in the neighbourhood of Windsor, was at this period thrown a good deal into the King's society, was Morton Eden, Lord Henley, whose diplomatic services at most of the Courts of Europe had obtained for him the distinction of Knight Commander of the Bath in 1793, and subsequently the peerage in 1799.† Like many other statesmen of the day, he seems to have been originally imbued with strong prejudices against George the Third; prejudices, however, which, on making the closer acquaintance of his Sovereign, became converted into admiration and esteem. To his brother, Lord Auckland, for instance, Lord Henley writes from Cooper's Hill towards the close of 1802—"I am just returned from the Terrace, which was honoured with the presence of the Queen, as well as with that of the King. On Wednesday his Majesty will have a levee at St. James's, and in the evening go to Kew, where he will be met by the Queen and Princesses. There will not be a Drawing Room, as Lady Dartmouth suspected, but they will remain at Kew till Friday, when his Majesty, on his way back to Windsor, will review the Scotch Greys on Ashford Common. I had

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 151. "*Friday, Feb. 18*," writes Lord Malmesbury, "*Lord Pelham with me before twelve.*" "Nothing new to communicate. Prince of Wales' debts—that is to say, the sum remaining unpaid since the arrangement made with him in 1795—to be paid. Many new debts, illegally contracted by him, and at the risk of those who trusted him, will still exist."—*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 209-10. "The whole," adds Lord Malmesbury, "will evidently be squandered away in the same way *he has hitherto lived in, without his assuming any one single exterior mark of royalty or splendour, to prove that he and his hangers-on do not consider it a farce.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 210. "The Prince's business," writes Fox on the 23rd of February, "comes on to-day. He is to get a great deal, but not enough to set him quite clear, which is very foolish, but that is the way these things are always done."—*Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox*, vol. iii. p. 216. † *Lord Henley died Dec. 6th, 1830, at the age of seventy-eight.*

the honour of attending him some hours yesterday in his ride, and had a long pleasing conversation with him; and, setting aside all courtiership, I can safely say that the more I see of him the more reason I see to love and honour him." *

The prediction which the King had hazarded, that the Peace would turn out to be a merely "experimental" one, unfortunately proved to be only too correct. So unmistakeable became the signs of an encroaching and grasping policy on the part of France, moreover such was the personal arrogance of Napoleon, and such the indignities offered by him to the British Crown and the British people, that in the opinion even of the most zealous advocates of peace, further endurance was no longer either honourable or safe. "Britain," was the insolent boast of the First Consul to the English Ambassador, "cannot contend alone against France." A renewal of hostilities had in fact become inevitable. Accordingly, on the 8th of March, a royal message, of so hostile a character as to be considered the precursor of war, was delivered to Parliament; on the 16th of May another royal message announced that the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth, had received orders to quit Paris, and on the following day were issued an order in Council directing reprisals against the goods and subjects of France, and a proclamation declaring an embargo on all French ships in British ports.

Exactly a week after the date of the last message from the throne, there commenced in the House of Commons a debate on the subject of peace or war, which, inasmuch as Pitt had signified his intention of taking a part in it after his long absence, had been looked forward to with the greatest impatience. Pitt, on the one hand, though still personally incensed against Addington, was nevertheless

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 170.

prepared to defend his present hostile attitude towards France; while Fox and his friends, on the other hand, believing that, by the exercise of due discretion and moderation, war might yet be averted, were resolved to oppose it to the last.

The reappearance of Pitt in Parliament, as his stiff and erect figure moved slowly up the House of Commons to his accustomed seat behind the Treasury Bench, proved the signal for general curiosity and remark. Since the time when he had last addressed that assembly there had been a General Election, on which occasion, so large a number of new members had been returned to Parliament, that it was computed that not fewer than two hundred of those who now were present were strangers to his wonderful eloquence. Never, perhaps, on any similar occasion had expectation run higher; yet, high as it ran, it was destined not to be disappointed. The first time that he addressed the House, the result was a complete and brilliant triumph. "Pitt's speech on the 23rd," writes Lord Malmesbury, "was the finest he ever made. Never was any speech so cheered, or such incessant and loud applause." * Mr. Ward, afterwards Earl of Dudley, also writes—"Erskine and Whitbread were heard with impatience, and when, at the end of a tedious hour and a half, he rose, there was a violent and almost universal cry of—Mr. Pitt! Mr. Pitt! He was then cheered before he uttered a syllable—a mark of approbation which was repeated at almost all the brilliant passages and remarkable sentiments; and when he sat down there followed three of the longest, most eager, and most enthusiastic bursts of applause I ever heard in any place on any occasion.† Fox, with his usual generosity, was loud in his praise of his rival's marvellous eloquence. It was a

May 20.

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 262. Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 421 † Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. 43.

speech, he told the House, which, if Demosthenes had been present, "he must have admired, and might have envied."* Privately to his friends, Fox expressed the same opinion. "Pitt's speech," he writes to Lord Holland, "was admired very much and very justly. I think it was the best he ever made in that style."†

If Pitt's eloquence on this occasion was capable of being surpassed by that of any living British statesman, it was unquestionably by the magnificent oration which, on the following day, Fox himself delivered before the same assembly. "By all the accounts I have collected," writes Horner, "both Pitt and Fox made a very great display. Pitt's peroration was a complete half-hour of his most powerful declamation, not lowered in its tone for a moment. Fox's speech was quite of a different cast, and not at all in the tone which he usually adopts. No high notes, no impassioned bursts; but calm, subtle, argumentative pleasantry. He very seldom attempts to keep the House laughing; but in this speech, I understand, it was evidently his design throughout, and Mackintosh says he never heard so much wit."‡ "In the debate," writes the Speaker, Abbot, "Mr. Fox spoke from ten o'clock till one, and in these three hours delivered a speech of more art, eloquence, wit, and *mischief*, than I remember to have heard from him."§ Mr. Ward, then a young man in his twenty-third year, quitted the House apparently quite as much enchanted with Fox's speech as on the previous evening he had been with that of Pitt. "Fox's speech," he writes, "was, I think, a far greater effort of mind. It was much the best I ever heard from *him*, and stands immediately next to the

* Memoirs of Francis Horner, vol. i. p. [illegible].

† Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. [illegible] p. [illegible]. Unfortunately, owing to a new arrangement of the Speaker's, which temporarily excluded the short-hand writers from the House of Commons, this speech, in its entire state, has been lost to posterity.

‡ Memoirs of Francis Horner, vol. i. p. [illegible].

§ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. [illegible]. Lord Malmesbury also refers to Fox's speech as having been "very mischievous."—*Diaries*, vol. iv. p. [illegible].

greatest among those of his antagonist. It was free from his usual and lamentable fault of repetition. Every one seemed to agree that he outdid himself." * Fox himself thought well of his own performance. "I dare say," he writes to Lord Holland, "you have heard puffs enough of my speech upon the Address, so that I need not add my mite. But the truth is that it was my best." †

Addington, in the mean time—cast into the shade by the brilliant abilities displayed by his two illustrious contemporaries—had not only "spoken very poorly" in the course of the debate,‡ but from other causes began to find his weight and popularity gradually decreasing. The world, for instance, had begun to regard him as a mere Minister of sufferance. Pitt, though he had upheld his war policy, had maintained so ominous a silence on the subject of the general conduct of Ministers, that, as Lord Malmesbury observes, society construed it into a "negative censure." § At any moment an adverse shuffle of the political cards might occasion a reciprocity of action between Pitt and the "old" and "new" Oppositions, and thus send Addington back to his former comparatively insignificant position. Nevertheless, during the next twelve months—and those twelve months, be it remembered, being amongst the most critical in the annals of England—Addington and his friends were enabled, consequent on the divided state of parties, to remain in the steady possession of their places. That they carried on the government at all, during that time, was of itself an achievement. Not only was England at war with France; not only had Ministers to contend against the insatiable ambition, and transcendent genius, of Napoleon; but that extraordinary man—burning to avenge the disgraces of Cressy and Agincourt, and the

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. [illegible]

† Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. p. 2[illegible]

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. [illegible]

§ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 262.

master of military resources as vast as had been wielded by Julius Cæsar—was busily preparing to put in force his long-cherished project of conquering Great Britain. Before the winter set in, he had made preparations on a gigantic scale. Opposite the coast of Kent was encamped an army of one hundred thousand men, while at Boulogne and in other ports was distributed a vast flotilla of gun-boats, for the purpose of conveying his battalions to England. A single battle, he calculated, would place the British capital at his mercy.

On the other hand, Great Britain was not unprepared for the threatened contest. Not only were her fleets more powerful than those of France, but so high ran the spirit of resistance throughout the country, that before the close of the year the Volunteer and Yeomanry corps, independent of the regular army, were computed as numbering nearly three hundred and eighty thousand men. Camps were formed in different' parts of the country which the King delighted to visit in person, and where he invariably met with the most enthusiastic receptions. The country, in fact, rose almost as one man to resist the invader; the old vying with the young in arming for the defence of their homes. Rose, for instance, mentions his having been the guest of Mr. Pitt at a dinner given by the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, every one of whom had
Oct. 3. enrolled himself as a volunteer. "The sight," he writes, "was really an extremely affecting one; a number of gallant and exceedingly good old men, who had during the best part of their lives been beating the waves, now coming forward with the zeal and spirit of lads, swearing allegiance to the King with a determined purpose to act manfully in his defence, and for the protection of the capital on the river." * In aid of the same good cause, the clergy

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64.

raised their voices in the pulpit, and the poets penned their inspiration. Already Campbell had composed, what Washington Irving styles that "exquisite gem"—'Ye Mariners of England!'—

"Britannia needs no bulwarks,
No towers along the steep;*
Her march is o'er the mountain-waves,
Her home is on the deep."

Wordsworth followed with his fine sonnets breathing a noble spirit of resistance,† while thus Walter Scott sang *to his fellow-citizens in the North* :—

"If ever breath of British gale
Shall fan the Tricolor,
Or footstep of invaders rude,
With rapine foul and red with blood,
Pollute our happy shore,
Then farewell home! and farewell friends!
Adieu each tender tie!
Resolved we mingle in the tide
Where charging squadrons furious ride
To conquer or to die."

—*Song to the Edinburgh Volunteers.*

Pitt, whose office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports placed him in a prominent post of responsibility and danger, proved himself a most ardent and energetic volunteer. "Pitt," writes his friend Wilberforce on the 9th of August, "is about to take the command of three thousand volunteers as Lord Warden. I am uneasy at it. He does not engage on equal or common terms, and his spirit will lead him to be foremost in the battle; yet, as it is his proper post, one can say nothing against it." ‡

* Campbell, of course, alludes to the Martello towers which were in the course of construction on the South and South-Eastern Coasts of England.

† "Vanguard of Liberty! Ye men of Kent,
Ye children of a soil that doth advance
Its haughty brow against the coast of France,
Now is the time to prove your hardiment."

‡ Life of Wilberforce, vol. iii. p. 113.

"Come the Consul whenever he will,
And he means it when Neptune is calmer,
Pitt will send him a d—— bitter pill,
From his fortress, the Castle of Walmer."

—PETER PINDAR.

In the midst of this excitement, and while the country was in almost daily expectation of invasion, London, on the 26th of October, became the scene of a military display, which, by those who bore a part in it, was ever spoken of with proud satisfaction. On that day, in the presence of about two hundred thousand spectators, George the Third reviewed in Hyde Park the Volunteer Corps of London, amounting, it was said, in infantry and cavalry, to twelve thousand four hundred men under arms. Alighting from his carriage on entering the park, the King mounted his charger, and, amidst the cheers and benedictions of his subjects, presented himself in front of the long military line which had been drawn up to receive him. He was attended by his seven sons on horseback, and by the Queen and Princesses in open carriages. Among the spectators were the exiled Princes of the House of Bourbon, with the exception of Louis the Eighteenth. "I think," writes Lord Eldon, "the finest sight I ever beheld was the great review in Hyde Park before the King, George the Third. The King, in passing, addressed Tom Erskine, who was Colonel, asking him the name of his corps. He answered, "The Devil's Own." The Lincoln's Inn Volunteers always went by the name of the Devil's Invincibles.*

The King, on quitting the ground, was followed to the Queen's Palace by a vast multitude of people, who rent the air with their cheers and huzzas. Two days afterwards a similar animated spectacle was presented in Hyde Park, on the occasion of the King reviewing the Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark Volunteers, to the number of

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 416.

between fourteen and fifteen thousand men. It may be mentioned that the total number of Volunteers enrolled in London and its suburbs, at this time, was computed to be forty-six thousand.

There was, at this critical period, no individual in Great Britain whose patriotism rose higher or who was more determined to sacrifice his life for his country, if necessary, than the pious and high-spirited King. The fact is sufficiently well known that, had the invasion actually taken place, it was his intention to have taken the field and to have encountered the foe at the head of his army. "No human voice," writes Sir Walter Scott, "was more fit to call a nation to arms, for no man possessed more courage in his own person than George the Third."* The arrangements, by which the King hoped to ensure the security of the Queen and Princesses, are explained by him in the following interesting letter:—

The King to the Bishop of Worcester.

"MY GOOD LORD, "WINDSOR, *November 30th*, 1803.

"It appears to me unlikely that the Bishop of Llandaff will have sent you a copy of the pamphlet he has just published, and much more so that you shall have purchased one of them. These reasons have induced me to forward the one he ordered to be put in my library. The political part has some merit if he had stopped there. But what he says on the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, and our great safeguards, the Test and Corporation Acts, is most *improper, and in my mind criminal in a member of the Church of* England, and still more so coming from a Bishop. Eminent talents and discretion are not always allied, and no stronger instance can be given than himself of the truth of that position.†

* Prose Works, vol. iv. p. 335.

† The King refers to a speech which Bishop Watson had intended to deliver in the House of Lords, but which he subsequently preferred giving to the world in the shape of a pamphlet.—See his *Anecdotes of his Own Life*, vol. ii. p. 180, &c. Bishop Hurd thus refers to it in his answer to the King's letter—"Of the *speech* I had seen and known nothing but what a newspaper had told me, and that was too much, for it happened to be the obnoxious part which your Majesty mentions. Nothing could be less prudent at this time, or less necessary, I think, at any time."

"We are here in daily expectation that Buonaparte will attempt his threatened invasion, but the chances against his success seem so many that it is wonderful he persists in it. I own I place that thorough dependence on the protection of Divine Providence, that I cannot help thinking the usurper is encouraged to make the trial that his ill-success may put an end to his wicked purposes. Should his troops effect a landing, I shall certainly put myself at the head of mine, and my other armed subjects, to repel them; but as it is impossible to foresee the events of such a conflict, should the enemy approach too near to Windsor, I shall think it right the Queen and my daughters should cross the Severn, and shall send them to your Episcopal Palace at Worcester. By this hint I do not in the least mean they shall be any inconvenience to you, and shall send a proper servant and furniture for their accommodation. Should such an event arise, I certainly would rather that what I value most in life should remain during the conflict in your diocese and under your roof, than in any other place in the island.

"Believe me ever, my good Lord,

"Most affectionately yours,

"GEORGE R.*

"*To The Lord Bishop of Worcester.*"

So great a compliment from his Sovereign could scarcely fail to prove most gratifying to the venerable prelate. "If it please God," he wrote back to the King, "that your Majesty be opposed to the attack of this daring adventurer, you will have your whole people ready to stand or fall with you, and Divine Providence, I firmly believe, to be your protector and preserver. If the occasion should happen, which your Majesty's tender concern for those most nearly and dearly related to you suggests to your apprehen-
si[illegible] y old[illegible] merly so much honoured mansion at
[illegible] ly to receive them, and in as good a
[illegible] e. But your Majesty is pleased
[illegible] ould fall out, you would
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Majesty's pardon if I feel myself too much impressed by a sense of so much goodness to me, to make my acknowledgments for it"

Having ascertained the means by which, at this menacing period, the King hoped to secure the safety of those who were near and dear to him, we are next led to inquire what part he had intended to have himself taken, in the event of a French army effecting a landing in his dominions Happily the following memoranda throw some interesting light on the subject —

"Lord Cornwallis to take the command of the central army, being the real reserve of the Volunteers and all the producible force of the kingdom, in case the French made any impression on the coast

"The King to move to Chelmsford if the landing was in Essex, or to Dartford if in Kent, taking with him Mr Addington and Mr Yorke of the Cabinet

"The Queen, &c, to remove to the Palace at Worcester

"The Bank books to be moved to the Tower, and the duplicate books and treasure to the Cathedral at Worcester in thirty waggons, under Sir Brook Watson's management, escorted from county to county by the Volunteers

"The merchants to shut up the Stock Exchange

"The artillery and stores from Woolwich to be transported inland by the Grand Junction Canal

"The Press to be prohibited from publishing any account of the King's troops, or of the enemy, but by authority from the Secretary of State, to be communicated officially twice a day to all news writers indiscriminately who may apply for it, else their presses to be seized and their printers imprisoned

"The Privy Council to be sitting in London, to issue all acts of Government." *

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. pp. 4 0, 471 In the fifth volume of Earl Stanhope's History of England, Appendix, pp. xix. xxv, will be found two curious

Among the persons who were most pressing in their applications to be employed against the enemy in the event of invasion was the Prince of Wales, who, not satisfied with the chances which he had of distinguishing himself as Colonel of the Tenth Light Dragoons, ugust 6. addressed urgent appeals to the King, to the Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief, and to the Prime Minister, to be appointed to some high and responsible military command. "I neither did," he writes to Addington, "or do presume on supposed talents as entitling me to such an appointment. I am aware I do not possess the experience of actual warfare. At the same time I cannot regard myself as totally unqualified or deficient in military science, since I have long made the service my particular study." To the King also the Prince writes—"Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to share in the glory of victory when I have everything to lose by defeat? The highest places in your Majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the Royal Family. To me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be even the junior Major-General of your army."* The Prince had forgotten, perhaps, that his brother, the Duke of Clarence, had enrolled himself a private in the Teddington Volunteers.†

But, even assuming that the King and his Ministers had been desirous to gratify the Prince's wishes, it may be questioned whether, after the recent military shortcomings of the Duke of York in the Low Countries, the people of England would have submitted to a second Prince of the Blood being intrusted—especially in a crisis

Mémoires, drawn up under the direction of the Duke de Choiseul in 1767 and 1768, which throw a light on what would in all probability have been the route of the French army, in the event of its having effected a successful descent upon the shores of England.

* Annual Register for 1803, pp. 564, 566. † Ibid., p. 422.

of great national peril—with important employment in the field At all events, his request met with a refusal, and apparently on the most justifiable grounds Not only, for instance, did his professional inexperience present a sufficient objection to his being appointed to a high command, but it appears, by a letter addressed to him by the Duke of York in 1795, on the occasion of his being appointed to the command of the Tenth Light Dragoons, that he was then distinctly informed, by command of the King, that he was on no account to regard the army as a profession, nor to expect promotion to a higher rank than that of Colonel. How determined the King continued to be on the subject the following letter evinces —

The King to the Prince of Wales

"My dear Son, Windsor, 7th *August.*

"Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet, considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no further on the subject Should the implacable Enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion, and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example in defence of everything that is dear to me and to my people.

"I ever remain, my dear son,

"Your most affectionate Father,

"George R." *

The Prince's letters on this occasion—which, had they been his own composition, would have been creditable to him—were at the time supposed to have been written by Sheridan They are now, however, known to have been composed partly by Sir Robert Wilson and partly

* Annual Register for 1803, p. [illegible]

by Lord Hutchinson.* Sheridan, in fact, was not only opposed to the Prince's claims to be nominated to a high military command, but even hazarded the loss of the Prince's friendship by resisting them when brought before Parliament.† Whatever amount of offence, however, Sheridan may have given by his opposition, the Prince's displeasure was evidently of no long duration. "I must write you one line," writes Fox to Lord Grey, "to tell you that I hear that on the very day I was writing my long letter to the Prince, he and Sheridan were getting drunk *tête-à-tête*, and that the latter boasts that he had convinced his Royal Highness that all he had done was right. It is not the *boast*—which may be all false—but the dining *tête-à-tête* in the present circumstance which makes an impression on me." ‡ It was to the credit of the Prince of Wales that when shortly afterwards the office of Receiver of the Duchy of Cornwall became vacant by the death of Lord Elliot, he conferred it upon Sheridan. "It is satisfactory to me," writes Sheridan to the Prime Minister, "that this appointment gives me the title and opportunity of seeing the Prince on trying occasions openly and in the face of day, and puts aside the mask of mystery and concealment." §

* Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. p. 317, 3rd edition. The Prince thought proper to publish the correspondence, including his father's letter to him, which naturally gave great offence to the King. The correspondence, which was first published in the 'Morning Chronicle' of December 7, 1803, will be found reprinted in the Annual Register for that year, p. 364, &c. The refusal of the Prince's offer of his military services was more than once discussed in the House of Commons. "*2nd August*," writes Lord Colchester, "Mr. Tyrwhitt and several other members urging the giving a forward station and distinguished rank to the Prince of Wales in the military arrangements; his Royal Highness having offered his services, which had not been accepted, and that he remained only a Colonel though the Duke of York was Commander-in-Chief, and each of his other brothers had the rank of a Lieutenant-General."—*Lord Colchester's Diaries*, vol. i. p. 461. "*9th December*.—Fox also declaimed upon the King's refusal of rank and command to the Prince of Wales."—*Ibid.*, p. 468.

† Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. p. 321, and *note*. Sheridan's Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 451, 452.

‡ Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. pp. 426-7. The dinner, it appears, took place at the Cocoa Tree Club, in St. James's-street.—Ibid., p. 427.

§ Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. pp. 320, 322.

The following brief extracts from Lord Malmesbury's Diaries are introduced, either on account of their having reference to the King personally, or else as bearing upon some event of interest which we have lately had occasion to record —

"*Feb 13th*, 1803 —The King's composure on hearing of Despard's horrid designs was remarkable, and evinces a strength of mind, and tranquillity of conscience, that prove him to be the best of men *

"*Feb 21st* —Despard and his associate traitors hanged at half past eight Hardened villains Despard manifested neither fear, religion, nor remorse Died, haranguing the mob, with a lie in his mouth , but it produced no effect Lady Hamilton — whom Lady Malmesbury met in the evening of this day at Lady Abercorn's— after singing, &c , said she had gone to see poor Mrs Despard in the morning She did not know her, but she went to comfort her, and that she found her much better since the body had been brought back to her This is the consequence of Nelson having spoken to his character †

"*March 24th* —Lord Moira came to Lord Pelham with a long string of intelligence from Bourdeaux It went to prove that Buonaparte was decided to invade us, and that he had saved forty or sixty millions of *livres* for this purpose That when he was told of the difficulties, he said—'*Oui, je les avoue, mais il y a tant de cabales et d'intrigues contre moi, qu'il n'y a que la conquête de l'Angleterre qui puisse réconcilier tous les esprits*' '‡

"*March 26th* —From secret intelligence Buonaparte's hostile views on this country are made manifest When told of the risks, he says—'*Oui, je les reconnois bien, mais que faut-il faire? Il y a tant de factieux, tant de dangers*

* Diaries, vol. iv p. 201.

† Ibid. p. 19. Despard's remains, having been given up to his friends, were interred by them in the cemetery of St. Faith, on the south side of St. Paul's Cathedral.

‡ Ibid. p. [illegible]

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Viceroy, his youngest son the Duke of Cambridge "The loss of *Hanover*," writes Fox, "*has, I am told*, affected the King severely "* We have the evidence, however, both of Lord Malmesbury and of Lord Henley, that the King bore his loss with singular equanimity "I deferred," writes the latter from Cooper's Hill on the 15th of June, "paying my duty to my royal neighbours till this morning I went out for that purpose soon after three, and met his Majesty, the Princesses Sophia and Amelia, the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, with a numerous suite, just coming into the Park I rode with them nearly three hours, and found the King—God be praised!—well and in good spirits Hanover was much spoken of, and, though the King's mind must doubtless be greatly affected by the truly abominable conduct of the French, and the sufferings of his subjects, yet his good sense and religion prevent them from making too deep an impression on him He was very gracious and very kind " "To morrow," adds Lord Henley, "the Royal Family goes again to Ascot whither Lady Henley and I, though agreeing perfectly with the Queen that a race is a vulgar business, shall also of course go On Wednesday they remove to Kew, and return to Windsor on the Friday "†

The following pleasing recollections of George the Third are from the pen of the accomplished diplomatist Sir George Rose, the son of the Right Honourable George Rose, whose diaries and letters have been so often referred to and quoted in these pages —

Sir George Rose to the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker

[*Extract*]

th February 1843.

"You are quite right in your judgments in favour of George the *Third* and Mr *Pitt* Of the latter I could say much from my

* Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox vol. iii. p 414.
† Auckland Correspondence vol. iv p. 1[illegible]

father, who loved him as a child of his own, and of George the Third, oddly enough, from much personal intercourse during five or six years when constantly hunting with him, and perhaps invariably called up to ride with him, unless I kept out of his way to get a gallop, which he evidently saw, and was not vexed at, and did not like me the less for it. I had been abroad young, was then in his service, was used to courts, and in Parliament, and he had a great regard for my father, and borrowed his house—keeping him in it—two or three times. He soon found that I did not seek any one thing but his society, for he had a marvellous sagacity; that I spoke the truth, and did it with some freedom, though very respectfully; and all this suited his just and manly mind. Events carried me from his neighbourhood, but I was affected lately, in reading, in papers of my father's, the expressions of the King's to him of his regard for me, whom he scarcely saw for the last years of his reign. I have very often rode hours by his side alone; for living on the edge of the Great Park I was constantly out with his staghounds and beagles. He then spoke with great freedom of men and things, and constantly of the past events of his reign; arguing his own conduct over again, and asking why he did such and such a thing; and I never knew a case where his ingenuity and his conscience had not led him to a more extensive view of different bodies, and to a juster balance of them, than I could grasp, or the world has given him credit for. High in his moral scale was the fulfilment of his obligations as a King of England according to the Constitution; and his knowledge of how such and such men would be actuated by connections, interest, &c., was deep and extensive. His courage was unflinching; his integrity unimpeachable. He was an extraordinary man. It was the co-operation of such a King and such a Minister as Mr. Pitt that, under God, saved us from the French Revolution." *

The Same to the Same.

[Extract.]

"[illegible] *February*, 1852.

"I do not remember any notes of George the Third to my father, although he knew him so well that he twice or thrice borrowed his house, stipulating that he should remain in it as his guest, which led to much interesting conversation [with him] and to others with myself. The King had frequently conversations with me

* MS. [illegible]

for hours hunting together, talking most freely, and with more sagacity, fairness, and acuteness, than I ever met with elsewhere in any man's talk He at times surprised me astonished to find one so gifted, and so exercising his gifts under all the disadvantages attending the education and entrance into life of a King It is too long a story to explain why his powers of mind were misapprehended and undervalued by the vulgar herd I mean those who do not, or will not, think for themselves His thoughts were earnest and just" *

* MS. Original.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Return of the King's mental malady — Fox and the Grenville party unite against Addington — Pitt attacks his Administration in Parliament — Proposed Coalition between Pitt and Fox — *Pitt's second Premiership — Conduct of the Prince of Wales — The King's exclusion of Fox from the new Cabinet — Fox's handsome conduct on the occasion — Lord Grenville and his friends refuse to join Pitt's Ministry — Conduct of Lord Grenville.*

In the mean time, Addington had for many months past been left in the comparatively tranquil possession of power and place. At any moment, indeed, a union of parties might have given a death-blow to his respectable Administration, but as yet Pitt and Fox were still too much at variance to render such an event very probable. Moreover, besides the advantage derived by Addington from his reputation for private virtue and political integrity, he still retained the favour of his Sovereign, and to some extent the confidence of his fellow-countrymen. He was reproached, indeed, with unduly preferring his near relatives and friends to State appointments of profit and responsibility, but apparently the charge harmed him but little in the opinion of the public. "Addington's own connexions," writes the Quarterly Reviewer, "had a share in the secondary offices to which their standing as public men hardly entitled them. Mr. Bragge, his brother-in-law—then in his first Parliament—was raised to the Privy Councillor's office of Treasurer of the Navy. His schoolfellow and intimate, Mr. Bond—just come into

Parliament—was a Lord of the Treasury. So also was his cousin, Mr. Golding, who does not seem to have been in Parliament at all. Mr. Adams, another brother-in-law, was a Lord of the Admiralty."*

But, calm as appeared to be the political horizon, a storm was already gathering. "Pitt," writes Fox to Grey on the 17th of December, "is, I hear, more and more bitter against the Ministers, and feels strongly what he deems the embarrassment of his situation. I am told he even expresses this sentiment—an openness not very usual with him—to some of his friends."† Fox, in fact, who had continued to support Addington so late as the month of October, had begun to discover signs of veering round to the enemy. On the 30th of November he writes to General Fitzpatrick—"If the New Opposition attack the general system of defence, I am determined to support them vigorously;" and again, before the close of December, we find him listening to overtures made to him by the Grenville party, of which the avowed object was a combined and systematic opposition to the Administration.‡

Such was the state of political parties when, towards the 1804.
middle of January, 1804, the King was seized with an attack of illness, which, before long, was followed, as on former unhappy occasions, by a temporary derangement of his reasoning faculties. Nevertheless, when, on the 18th, the Speaker wrote down his name at Buckingham House, he was informed that the King was so much better that in the course of the day he had been able to walk for an hour or two in the gardens behind the palace. "One day," writes Lord Eldon, "when I went to make my call of duty, Dr. Simmons, the medical attendant constantly there, represented to me the embarrassment he

* Quarterly Review, vol. lxxix. p. 512.

† Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. p. 443.

‡ Ibid., p. 433; vol. iv. p. 15, &c.

was exposed to, being persuaded that if his Majesty could have a walk frequently round the garden behind the house, it would be of the most essential benefit to him; that if he took his walk with the Doctor or any of his attendants, he was overlooked from the windows of Grosvenor Place, and reports were circulated very contrary to the truth respecting his Majesty's mental health. That, on the other hand, his Majesty's family were afraid of accompanying him, and that he, the Doctor, did not know how to act, as the walk was of vast importance to his Majesty's recovery. It was to me plain," continues Lord Eldon, "*that he wished that I should offer to attend* his Majesty and walk with him in the garden. I offered to do so if he thought it likely to be useful to the King. He then went into the next room where the King was, and I heard him say—'Sir, the Chancellor is come to take a walk with your Majesty, if your Majesty pleases to allow it.'—'With all my heart,' I overheard the King say, and he called for his hat and cane. We walked two or three times round Buckingham House Gardens. There was at first a momentary hurry and incoherence in his Majesty's talk, but this did not endure two minutes. During the rest of the walk there was not the slightest aberration in his Majesty's conversation, and he gave me the history of every Administration in his reign. When we returned into the house, his Majesty, laying down his hat and cane, placed his head upon my shoulder and burst into tears."* Yet, on this very day, a false and painful report—propagated, according to the Chancellor, for political purposes—was current in London that the King had been in such a state of rabid violence while walking in the Gardens of Buckingham House, that his keepers had been compelled to drag him into the Palace by force.†

* Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. pp. 422-3. † Ibid., p. 224.

On the 24th of January the King himself thus reports the state of his health :—

The King to Mr. Addington.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, *January 24th*, 1801

"The King has the satisfaction of acquainting Mr. Addington that the pain in the foot seems quite removed, but the swelling is still too great to enable Sir Francis Milman to consent to the King's having a levee to-morrow at St. James's, which is therefore postponed to Wednesday, February 1st, and the drawing-room to Thursday, February 9th The King will be very happy to have a Privy Council here to-morrow at two o'clock, and to receive any of the Ministers that day, either previous or subsequent to the Privy Council, as may best suit them

"GEORGE R."*

Satisfactory as this communication must have appeared to the Prime Minister, it will nevertheless be seen by the following extracts from Lord Colchester's Diaries that the King's health continued, for some time to come, to fluctuate from better to worse, and from worse to better :—

"*Feb.* 14*th*.—The King, whose attack of the gout at first appeared to be slight, though it had never completely left him, appears to have been worse lately, and yesterday the fever was very high. He talked for five hours incessantly last night. His head at times much affected. He did not get to sleep till this morning.

"15*th*.—The King to-day no better. On Thursday last [the 9th] he was apparently well at the Council. On Friday he is said to have drunk cold water and to have been worse since Last night he slept two hours. His legs have swelled, but do not appear to have enlarged in the last twenty-four hours. His pulse about eighty.

* Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 247

The King had foreseen his illness coming on, and had made arrangements in case of his death. For a short time he suffered a sort of paralysis which created great apprehensions for his life; but there soon appeared no ground for that alarm. The disorder has now taken the decided character of a complete mental derangement. His health, however, is better now than it was at the commencement of his illness in 1801. The Willises have not yet been introduced; that remains to be done." *

The King, it seems, had conceived a morbid horror of being again attended by any member of the Willis family, his conviction being that during his former illnesses he had been treated by them with unnecessary severity. Accordingly, at his urgent desire, an eminent medical practitioner, Dr. Simmons, physician of St. Luke's Hospital,† was called in, and the royal patient delivered to his charge. "The King," writes Lord Colchester on the 20th, "is recovering fast, and had yesterday a long interval of reason and composure, but has every day the strait waistcoat. He has always expressed an opinion, when well, that the Willises used him with unnecessary rigour. He submits cheerfully to the restraints which he believes to be necessary, and is perfectly contented under the management of Dr. Simmons, of St. Luke's Hospital, who now attends him. Dr. Simmons says that relapses in this disorder are frequent, and many persons return to St. Luke's at intervals, but that the attack is always slighter upon each successive fit." ‡

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 4[illegible]. "The King," writes Lord Malmesbury, "was exceedingly ill; in imminent danger for forty-eight hours, on the 1[illegible]th and 15th January; but from this he recovered, and the mania, though it still remains, is by no means so strong as at former times. His constitution seemed weaker and to have suffered more; but his mind was never so completely alienated as in 1788 and in 1801." Diaries, vol. iv. p. [illegible].

† Samuel Foart Simmons, M.D., whom Lord Colchester styles Dr. Simmons, and Lord Malmesbury Dr. Symonds, was born at Sandwich in Kent, in 17[illegible]. He was Member of the Royal Society and author of some medical and other works. His death took place on the 23rd of April, 1813.—Gentleman's Magazine for 1813, part i. p. [illegible].

‡ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 4[illegible].

Most fortunate it was for the King's future comfort and happiness that he rallied from his malady so soon as he did, inasmuch as, had it lasted but a short time longer, a Regency, as Pitt intimated to Lord Malmesbury, must inevitably have been appointed. "On my observing," writes the latter, "that the Prince of Wales had asserted that it *must* last several months, Pitt said,—

"'Thy wish was father, Harry, to that thought.'"*

Again, Pitt writes to Lord Melville—"All the accounts which have reached Carlton House—or at least, *between ourselves*, which have come from thence—have uniformly represented the King's state as worse than in truth it has been, and cannot be reasoned upon without great allowance."†

Nevertheless, the King's health, notwithstanding the prognostications of Carlton House, continued gradually to amend. So satisfactory, indeed, was the progress which he made, that on the 27th of February the physicians were enabled to intimate to the Cabinet that, though it was still advisable that his Majesty should avoid fatiguing arguments and discussions, yet he was perfectly competent to perform any act of government.‡ The same day, not only was a much more favourable bulletin issued, but happily, on the 9th of the following month, the King, to the great satisfaction of his subjects, was well enough to be driven with the Queen and Princesses through the principal streets of London and Westminster.§

It was soon after the King had been declared to be convalescent, but evidently while his mind was still in an enfeebled state, that, on Lord Eldon paying him a visit at Buckingham House, he took from a drawer a watch and

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 298.
† Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. 140.
‡ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 484.
§ Annual Register for 1804, pp. 28, 29. Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 507.

chain which he had worn for twenty years, and desired him to accept and wear them for his sake. The Chancellor, however, by whatever motives he may have been actuated, considered it his duty to decline them, on which the King, evidently extremely angry and disconcerted, questioned him as to his reasons for disobeying him. "I told him," said the Chancellor, "that there were people who envied me every mark of my Sovereign's favour, and who would give an unfavourable construction to my receiving anything from him at that time; and, therefore, greatly as I valued his gifts, under the circumstances I thought it was best to return the watch with the chain and seal." To these words the King returned no reply, but the degree to which he was affected by them was shown by his shedding tears.*

Here the matter might be supposed to have ended, but such was not the case. Many months afterwards, as Lord Eldon was sitting in the Court of Chancery, one of the messengers of the Court placed before him a red box, on opening which he found it to contain the same watch and seal which the King had formerly offered him, with the addition of the following note:

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *January 21st*, 1805.

"The King takes this opportunity of forwarding to the Lord Chancellor the watch he mentioned the last spring. It has undergone a thorough cleaning, and been left with the maker many months, that the accurateness of its going might be ascertained. Facing 10 minutes there is a spring, if pressed by the nail, will open the glass for setting the watch; or, turning the watch, pressing the back edge facing 50 minutes, the case opens for winding up.

"GEORGE R."

On the seal were engraved a figure of Religion looking

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 424.

up to Heaven, and another figure of Justice without a bandage over its eyes. The motto was—"*His Dirige te.*"* His illnesses, said the King to Lord Eldon at this time, had at least had one good effect—that of enabling him to distinguish the difference between his real and pretended friends.†

In the mean time, the assembling of Parliament, on the 1st of February, had been the signal for party hostilities to recommence, and for party animosities to return with augmented bitterness. For some time past, Fox and the Grenvilles had agreed upon a system of hostile operations, which required only the co-operation of Pitt to render the speedy annihilation of the Addington Administration an inevitable consequence.‡ Pitt, however, when "sounded" by them, had not only declined to unite in any organized opposition, but manifested so little eagerness to take any part in the onslaught, that it was not till many days after Parliament had reassembled that he made his appearance in the House of Commons. "I came with my family to town on the 8th of February," writes Lord Malmesbury; "I found the spirit of party very high, but Pitt *still absent.*"§ Nevertheless, he was unquestionably preparing for a war to the knife with the companion of his youth. "Pitt keeps aloof," writes Fox to Lord Holland on the 19th of March; "but misses few opportunities of exposing the present men; and will, I am told, be inclined more and more to divide for any measure against them; but all this is very uncertain."‖

To Fox personally, Addington at this time seems to have grown scarcely less obnoxious than he had become to Pitt. Of the amiable Minister whom he had so lately and so warmly supported, we now find him speaking with

* Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. pp. 424, 425.
† Ibid., vol. i. p. 426.
‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 291.
§ Ibid., pp. 291, 292.
‖ Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. p. 242.

unequivocal contempt To Lord Grey he writes on the 15th of March—"You will perceive that the Doctor is much weaker in numbers than one could have imagined, but it looks as if this was not so much owing to our strength, as to speculations among their friends concerning the King, and Pitt's ambiguous situation However, it has this good effect—that it makes him, the Doctor, more and more contemned every day, indeed the contempt, both with respect to the degree and universality of it, is beyond what was ever known"* Again, Fox writes to Lord Lauderdale on the 25th of March—"The Doctor has exceeded, if possible, all his former lies in what he said about the Russian business It is, I own, an ignoble chase, but I should have great pleasure in hunting down this ignoble fellow † To his other correspondents Fox is no less lavish of contemptuous expressions when speaking of Addington and his colleagues To Grey he writes on the 2nd of April—"I really think the next six weeks must bring matters to a crisis both with respect to the King, and to the getting rid of these rascals"‡ And again he writes on the 13th—"Let us first get rid of the Doctor is my first principle of action, in which I reckon you as concurring with me as much as any one"§ Yet not only had no very long time elapsed since Fox had proposed to coalesce with Addington,|| but within two years he will be found sitting as a member of the same Cabinet with the "vile fellow" whom he was now so determined upon hunting down

The sneers and invectives which were heaped by Fox upon Addington and his "rascally Ministry" [illegible] lavished no less unsparingly upon Pitt For [illegible] a letter to Fitzpatrick, dated the 2nd of the [illegible] th of

* Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, [illegible]

† Ibid. vol. iv p. 31 [illegible]

‡ Ibid., vol. iii. p. [illegible] The [illegible]
April [illegible]

§ [illegible]

December, he speaks of his great rival as "a mean rascal after all;" and again he writes to Grey in the following month of March—"As to Pitt, I think you must form the same conclusion from the Duchess's paper that I do. He is a mean, low-minded dog."* "You think," writes Fox to Lord Lauderdale on the 9th of April, "that the Court cannot now be forced. Remember, all I have said is that there is a *chance* that it may. Pitt's utter incapacity to act like a man renders that chance much less than it would otherwise be."† Yet Fox and Pitt at this time were not only engaged in the same cause, but were actually agreed on most of the important political questions of the day, and were even prepared at the earliest opportunity to accept and hold office together.

That Fox, when he gave vent to the foregoing taunts, laboured under a strong impression that Pitt was acting a selfish, if not a jesuitical part, there seems good reason to believe. For instance, alluding to the prospect of "the speedy discomfiture of the Doctor," he writes to Grey on the 17th of April—"IF Pitt plays fair, we shall run him very hard indeed on my motion, and in one or two more give him his death-blow, unless he runs away first." And in the same letter Fox adds—"I have not written my IF in great letters for nothing; and yet I rather think it will be right. As you are so far off, I may let you into the secret that my motion may probably, at Pitt's earnest request, for reasons foolish and fanciful beyond belief, be put off till Monday, so that, if you did think of coming, you would not be too late. It is impossible not to suspect Pitt from his ways of proceeding, and yet his interest is so evident that I think he will do right."‡ Manifestly, it was more than suspected by Fox and his friends that Pitt's motive in playing an isolated part in the proceedings against

* Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. pp. 440, 455.
† Ibid., vol. iv. p. 40. ‡ Ibid., vol. iv. pp. 41, 42.

Ministers was to "let the Doctor fall" as if by the hands of others, thus avoiding the offence which he must otherwise have given to the King by combining in open opposition with Fox, and smoothing the way for the return of the latter to power.* Pitt, however, as will be presently perceived, was unquestionably behaving with the most perfect sincerity. It was true, indeed, that he declined entering into an organized alliance with Fox and the Grenvilles, but the subsequent blows which he dealt at the Administration proved not the less formidable that they were dealt single handed.

The motion, referred to by Fox in the foregoing paragraph, was for the appointment of a Committee of the whole House of Commons to revise the ministerial Bills for the defence of the country—a motion, it may be mentioned, tantamount to moving for a vote of want of confidence in Ministers. Agreeably with Pitt's wishes, which of course received every consideration at Fox's hands, the latter consented to postpone it to Monday, the 23rd of April, on which day Pitt not only spoke against Ministers, but, in the bitterest and most sarcastic terms, inveighed against the manner in which the business of the nation had been conducted by them, even carrying his denunciations to such lengths as to insist that the salvation of the country, in such perilous times, depended upon their immediate removal from power.† The debate terminated by Ministers obtaining a majority of fifty two—a number which in those days was regarded as almost equivalent to a defeat.‡ Two days afterwards, on the 25th of April,

* Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. p. 4[illegible]0.

† Horner who listened to Pitt on this occasion, writes to his father on the following day:—"Pitt gave us both substance and manner as a debater of the highest powers. Most explicit in his declaration against Ministers, which he delivered, however as if at last, after much consideration and reluctance but he enforced it with a good deal of vehement declamation in his way and some touches of that bitter freezing sarcasm which everybody agrees is his most original talent, and appears indeed most natural to him."—*Memoirs of Francis Horner*, vol. i. p. [illegible]13.

‡ The numbers were 2[illegible] against [illegible]04.

Pitt, in another eloquent speech, opposed the order of the day for going into Committee on a Government Bill for the suspension of the Army of Reserve Act; the result being that the former ministerial majority of fifty-two was reduced to only thirty-seven.*

That, at this period, the necessities of the State required men of all parties to bury their political feuds in oblivion, and to unite in cementing an harmonious and vigorous Administration, was a principle which was pretty generally conceded. Nevertheless, as regarded the contingency of a coalition between Pitt and Fox, so widely, in former days, had these two celebrated statesmen differed on many vital questions relating to the Constitution and to the government of the country, and moreover so personally bitter had been their political contentions, that there were many persons, foremost among whom was the King, who anticipated such a coalition with singular disfavour and distrust. "There are many of my friends," writes Erskine, "who speak with great complacency of a coalition with Pitt; but that I am persuaded can never happen. Fox could not, if he were disposed to it, carry such a disgusting measure with his own friends. With me he certainly could not, nor with many more whom I could name."† Thus also Lord Colchester inserts in his diary on the 6th of May—"General dissatisfaction amongst Mr. Pitt's friends, and the public in general, at the idea of his forming a joint Administration with Mr. Fox."‡ There was evidently in progress—observed the Attorney-General, Spencer Perceval, in the House of Commons during the stormy debate of the 23rd of April—a most extraordinary coalition against Ministers. One gentleman, Mr. Fox, had approved of the Peace of Amiens. How those two gentlemen, Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, when seated together at the council-table,

* 240 against 203. † Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 257.
‡ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 505.

would be able to reconcile their conflicting opinions, was beyond his comprehension. What policy, then, he asked, could be more rash than to advise the Sovereign to dismiss his present Ministers without the House being in possession of any previous knowledge who were likely to be their successors? Mr Fox would probably advocate a peace with France, but was it equally probable that such a measure would be acceptable to Mr Windham, or to others who entertained the same opinions as Mr Windham? Moreover, was it possible to imagine a more unnatural alliance than that which was said to be on the eve of consummation between Mr Pitt and Mr Fox? Was it possible, argued the Attorney General, that Mr Fox, who had so often arraigned the Government of Mr Pitt as unconstitutional and tyrannical, should coalesce with him with anything like cordiality and complete accord? Surely they could not unite their forces without loss of character, nor sit at the same council table without practising a dissimulation which would be degrading to both? *

Such—with reference to the suspected good understanding between Pitt and Fox—was the language [illegible] both in and out of Parliament, language, no [illegible] ciently unpalatable to Pitt, who, however, had [illegible] himself too deeply to admit of his retreating [illegible] had been either his policy or his wish. For [illegible] caused it to be distinctly explained to Fox [illegible] of the overthrow of the present Go[illegible] consequently calling upon [illegible] tion, he should gladly [illegible] abilities, adding, ho[illegible] pugnance to admit F[illegible] insurmountable, [illegible]

* [illegible]



to state, through the medium of a common friend, his opinions on the present condition of politics, and the best means of establishing a more efficient ministration of public affairs. Pitt's reply was sufficiently haughty. Neither, he said, through a common friend, nor to Mr. Addington himself, nor for Mr. Addington's information, would he make any such communication. Should the King think proper, through any third and unexceptionable person, to command his advice, he should then deem it "his duty to state to such person, for his Majesty's *information, his unreserved opinion as to the steps which* ought to be taken for the establishment of a new Government."* This letter, it appears, was laid by Addington before the King.

The person who, with the King's approval, was selected to open a preliminary communication with Pitt was the Lord Chancellor Eldon, through whom Pitt transmitted a letter to his Majesty, in which he expressed his unabated distrust in the ability of the present Cabinet, and especially of "the person now holding the chief place in it," to carry on the Government with competent wisdom and vigour; at the same time respectfully intimating his intention of shaping his Parliamentary conduct in accordance with his estimate of their demerits. This letter bears date the 21st of April; but in consequence of reasons suggested by the Chancellor, to whom Pitt enclosed it unsealed—reasons which were fully acquiesced in by Pitt—it was not till the 27th that it was laid before the King.†

* Letter from Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated 19th April, 1804. Buckingham Papers, vol. iii. pp. 249, 348.

† Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. Appendix, p. i. Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. pp. 439, 440 Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 302. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 113. The conduct of Lord Eldon on this occasion has been arraigned, both by Lord Brougham, in his Historical Sketches of Statesmen (vol. ii, p. 51, Ed. 1858-60) and by Dean Pellew, in his Life of Lord Sidmouth (vol. ii. p. 277). According to the former—"It was more than suspected that the gates of the garrison were opened by the scheming and politic Chancellor, who on this occasion displayed his unscrupulous and undaunted political courage, &c." See, however, a letter from Lord Grenville to Lord Buckingham, of the

In the mean time, so completely had the stability of the Administration been shaken by the unfavourable division which took place in the House of Commons on the 25th, that on the following day, the 26th, Addington, in a personal interview with the King, intimated to him how impossible he felt it to carry on the government for a much longer period, and how expedient, therefore, it was that he should retire from his Majesty's service.* The immediate results of Addington's announcement to the King may be briefly related. On the 29th it was decided at a Cabinet Council that Ministers should at once tender their resignations. On the 30th Lord Eldon communicated to Pitt, by Addington's desire, that he considered his Administration to be at an end; and lastly, in the course of that day, Pitt received a visit from the Chancellor, who came to communicate to him the King's desire to be furnished by him, *in writing*, with a plan for the construction of a new Administration.

To the King, whose mind was still enfeebled by the effects of his recent malady, the breaking up of the Addington Ministry was, for more reasons than one, a source of keen distress. In common with many of his subjects, he had formed a much more favourable opinion of Addington's abilities than perhaps they deserved. Like many of his subjects, too, he regarded the impending political partnership between Pitt and Fox as both an unnatural alliance and a very dangerous experiment. Moreover, the King's personal feelings were deeply interested in the impending change. He not only felt under great obligation to his late

19th of April, 1804 (*Buckingham Papers*, vol. iii. p. 349), and a further letter from Lord Castlereagh to Lord Wellesley, of the 18th of May, 1804 (*Lord Wellesley's Despatches*, vol. iii. pp. 570-573), which clearly prove that the overtures to Pitt emanated, not from Lord Eldon, but from Addington himself. "There seems," writes the late Sir George C. Lewis, "no ground for Lord Brougham's view that this communication through Lord Eldon was an intrigue."—*Essays on the Administrations of Great Britain*, p. 243, *note*.

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 302.

Minister for having consented to accept office in 1801, but, as we have seen, he had also become personally attached to him. With Pitt, on the contrary, he was angry on account of what he considered his factious conduct in uniting with Fox and the Grenvilles to turn out Addington; and, lastly, the prospect of receiving back, as his confidential Minister and personal adviser, his old enemy and maligner, Charles Fox, could scarcely fail to occasion him, especially in the present weakened state of his nerves, the greatest possible dissatisfaction and concern. Thus, when Addington was closeted with him on the 26th of April, we find him exhibiting "great marks of concern and indignation," nor, when Lord Eldon was admitted to his presence on the following day, does he seem to have become more reconciled to the change. Nevertheless his strong sense of religion, and of the duties which he owed to his subjects, enabled him alike to govern his temper and to subdue his feelings of indignation. At a time, he observed to Lord Eldon, when it had pleased Providence to recover him from the severe affliction with which he had been visited, it would ill become him to indulge in hasty and impatient ebullitions of anger. Still less justifiable, he said, would it be, at such a crisis of national difficulty, to allow himself to be biassed by private feelings or personal prejudices. His duty, he added, was to prevent confusion in his dominions, and that duty he would religiously perform. "From that moment," said Lord Eldon, "his Majesty never betrayed the least hastiness of temper, but attended to all that was said with the greatest attention, and in the most placid manner." He even spoke of Pitt, not only without animosity, but in terms of commendation. "I am persuaded," he said, "Mr. Pitt will never perform any engagements, or enter into any connexion, which will be injurious either to the rights of my subjects or to the royal prerogative. I feel sure of

this." And he added emphatically—"I also feel my Coronation Oath safe in his hands."*

If anything, at this time, could have increased the King's distress of mind, it was the conduct of the Prince of Wales, who—at the instigation, apparently, of his friend and chief councillor, the Earl of Moira—had exerted his influence to effect the object which, of all others, was to the King the most unpalatable, the coalition of the ultra Whigs with Pitt for the purpose of turning out Addington and forcing themselves into power.† As relates to the public views and opinions of the Prince and his friends, the following account, as given by the late Earl of Lonsdale,‡ of certain language held by him at the Marquis of Salisbury's,§ a few days before Pitt returned to Downing-street, is, in many respects, curious. "The Prince to see the King to-morrow. He ought to be careful what he did. Take care he was acting constitutionally. That, while the fifth physician was in attendance, how could the King be said to be well? That to-morrow should not pass without something being done. That an under-plot was going on, and Mr. Pitt would be betrayed. No opinion either of the Chancellor or Mr. Addington. Thought the former had deceived him. That nothing but an examination of physicians could satisfy him of the King's convalescence; and not that, unless Lord Thurlow were of the Committee. That all the friends he could influence would support a

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 303.

† Letter from the Lord Advocate Hope to Lord Melville, dated 22nd March, 1804; Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. pp. 137-8. The Prince's friends had voted with Government so late as the 15th of March.

‡ Croker MS. From the original in the handwriting of Lord Lonsdale.

§ Apparently on Sunday, the 29th of April. Lord Salisbury at this period held the Lord Chamberlainship, which office was subsequently offered by Pitt to Lord Pembroke, but was declined by him. "He told me himself," writes Lord Malmesbury, "the sort of life it would oblige him to lead would make him quite wretched. I could not blame him; yet, in my mind, wish he had accepted, for the King's sake."—*Lord Malmesbury's Diaries*, vol. iv. p. 312.

Government formed on a comprehensive plan; but if that could not be accomplished, he could not consent to see the affairs of the kingdom conducted in the manner they had been, and continue to frame the same line of moderation by which he had hitherto been guided. That the Duke of Clarence would *certainly attend to-morrow*, and he hoped great numbers would; and whatever the Duke of Clarence might say, the sentiments he uttered were likewise *those of* the Prince. That his brothers had been forced to attend.* That only four persons had seen the King. That Mr. Pitt must not judge of his mind from one interview, but he must go to him, and unprepared for the interview; but Mr. Pitt will not be allowed to see him."

The Prince's surmise that Pitt would find a difficulty in obtaining an interview with the King proved to be quite correct. The King, it is true, had not only extended his forgiveness to Pitt, but had done justice to the rectitude of his intentions. Yet, on the other hand, he had causes of complaint against his former Minister, personal as well as political, which he found it difficult, all at once, to overlook. It will be remembered how affectionately the King, on Pitt's quitting office in March, 1801, had expressed his wish that, though they had ceased to be political allies, they should continue to be personal friends; and further, how flatteringly he had invited him to visit him constantly, and to become his private guest.† These kindnesses, however, not only appear to have been somewhat ungraciously responded to on the part of the great statesman, but we have the authority of Lord St. Helens, as

* The Prince evidently refers to the great trial of strength which was expected to take place on the Monday, the 30th of April, on a motion of Lord Stafford for an inquiry into the state of the nation. "The Prince," writes Lord Malmesbury, "was at first wavering in his politics, but got finally all the votes he could for the Opposition. The Duke of Clarence would have voted with it; but the other Royal Dukes, and very properly, *if they vote at all*, will vote with Government."—*Diaries*, vol. iv. pp. 301, 305.

† See *ante*, pp. 266, 267.

this." And he added emphatically—"I also feel my Coronation Oath safe in his hands."*

If anything, at this time, could have increased the King's distress of mind, it was the conduct of the Prince of Wales, who—at the instigation, apparently, of his friend and chief councillor, the Earl of Moira—had exerted his influence to effect the object which, of all others, was to the King the most unpalatable, the coalition of the ultra Whigs with Pitt for the purpose of turning out Addington and forcing themselves into power.† As relates to the public views and opinions of the Prince and his friends, the following account, as given by the late Earl of Lonsdale,‡ of certain language held by him at the Marquis of Salisbury's,§ a few days before Pitt returned to Downing-street, is, in m [illegible] curious. "The Prince to see the

King tc [illegible] on the [illegible] be careful what he [illegible]
Take ca [illegible] that day. He [illegible] ally. That, whi [illegible]
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said to [illegible] the King seems [illegible] uld not pass
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and M [illegible] should at all events [illegible] opinion
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physic [illegible] he also kept away.‡ To whom
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* Lord [illegible]
† Lett [illegible] [illegible]'s D [illegible]
Earl Sta [illegible]
Governm [illegible]
‡ Crol [illegible]
§ App [illegible]
Lord Cha [illegible]
broke, bu [illegible]
"the sort [illegible]
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Malmesbu [illegible]

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* The Prince [illegible] take place on the [illegible] inquiry into the state of [illegible] L. ii. p. at first wavering in his politics, [illegible] The Duke of Clarence would have [illegible] t had very properly, if they [illegible] e time 301, 305. [illegible]

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* Lord [illegible]

† Letter [illegible] Earl Stanho[illegible] Government [illegible]

‡ Croker [illegible]

§ Apparen[illegible] Lord Chambe[illegible] broke, but w[illegible] "the sort of li[illegible] not blame hi[illegible] *Malmesbury's* [illegible]

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† See *ante* pp 266 267

stances, appear to be eligible. But should Mr. Pitt unfortunately find himself unable to undertake what is here proposed, the King will, in that case, call for the assistance of such men as are truly attached to our happy Constitution, and not seekers of improvements which, to all dispassionate men, must appear to tend to the destruction of that noble fabric which is the pride of all thinking minds, and the envy of all foreign nations." *

In the same tone of displeasure runs the following note, dated the same day:—

The King to Lord Eldon.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, *May 5th*, 1804, $\frac{m}{15}$ p^t 6 P.M.

"The King is much pleased with *his* excellent Chancellor's note. He doubts much whether Mr. Pitt will, after weighing the contents of the paper delivered this day to him by Lord Eldon, choose to have a personal interview with his Majesty; but whether he will not rather prepare another Essay, containing as many empty words, and little information, as the one he had before transmitted.

"His Majesty will, with great pleasure, receive the Lord Chancellor to-morrow between ten and eleven, the time he himself has proposed.

"GEORGE R." †

The person who, next to the King, seems to have been the most averse to the projected coalition, was the Lord Chancellor, who, in addition to other motives, personal as well as political, dreaded the effect which might be produced on his Sovereign's mind, in its still debilitated state, should any strong pressure be put upon him in a matter so distasteful to him as the readmission of Fox to the Cabinet. To Rose he writes on the 4th of May—"No man can be more convinced than I am of the difficult circumstances we stand in, and I thank God I am not accessory to the causes which have produced them. The

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. Appendix, pp. ix.-x. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 116, &c.

† Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. p. 443.

forbearance of a fortnight or three weeks would have saved *the King, and I think might have saved Mr. Pitt* the cruel consequences, as I am apprehensive they will turn out, of having felt a necessity of making a proposition, the making of which will, in my judgment, most seriously injure him, and the execution of which I believe to be utterly impossible whilst the Personage who must decide upon it retains his understanding. I see no medium between Mr. Pitt's trying what you think not lasting,* and the King's being destroyed. God forgive all those who have brought either of them into this situation."†

It was two days after the date of this letter, that the King, yielding at length to the repeated entreaties of Pitt, consented to admit him to a private audience. Accordingly, on the forenoon of Monday, the 7th of May, the Chancellor called upon Pitt at his private residence,‡ and as soon as he had breakfasted, carried him with him in his coach to Buckingham House. On the previous day, it would seem, Pitt had received from Carlton House a very gloomy account of the state of the King's health, and consequently, on reaching the Queen's House, he readily listened to the suggestion of the Chancellor, that before being ushered into the presence of his Sovereign, he should hear the opinions of the royal physicians, who happened to be in attendance. The two chief questions, he told them, which he desired to ask were, first of all, whether the sight of an old servant, from whom the King had been estranged for three years, might not be distressing to him, and

* Rose, in a letter to which Lord Eldon's is a reply, had expressed an opinion that without a union with Fox, Pitt would be unable to maintain himself in office for any lasting period.—*Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 77.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 78 9, 116.

‡ Pitt at this time occupied a small house, No. 14, York place, a continuation of Baker street, Portman-square.—*Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt*, vol. iii. p. 400 It may be casually mentioned that close by (No. 64, Baker street) had resided Pitt's cousin, Lord Camelford, who, two months previously (March 7), had been killed in a duel by Best —Cunningham's *Handbook of London*, Art , Baker-street.

secondly, whether the discussion of important affairs might not produce an injurious effect upon his health. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the answers of the physicians on both of these points; yet it was not till he had committed his questions to paper, and had received the replies of the physicians in writing, that he expressed himself satisfied. Had they demurred, he afterwards observed, he should have made no scruple of quitting the Palace without waiting to see the King; even though he was there by express appointment.* Pitt would willingly have induced the Chancellor to accompany him into the royal presence, but on the latter suggesting how desirable it was that he should judge of the King's condition entirely for himself, he agreed to enter the closet alone.

The King not only received his former Minister with the greatest kindness, but on Pitt congratulating him on looking so much better than he had done after his former illness, in 1801, nothing could be happier or more flattering than his reply. "It is not to be wondered at," he said. "I was then on the point of *parting* with an old friend, and I am now about to *regain* one."† Some days afterwards, he told the Duke of Portland that *now* he and Mr. Pitt met like old friends who had never parted.‡ On every other question, but the admission of Fox into the Cabinet, Pitt found the King very reasonable and tractable. To Lord Grenville, indeed, the King at first made considerable objection, but, as Pitt told Rose, "he gave way completely about him."§ Even as regarded Fox, he expressed his willingness to sanction his appointment as Ambassador to a foreign court, or in fact to any other post which did not

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 310, 311. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 121.
† Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 121-2.
‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 312.
§ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 122.

entail the necessity of their being brought into personal contact * The King, indeed, named two or three persons whose recent conduct in Parliament, he said, he was unable to overlook, but on Pitt intimating to him that they were among those whom he had especially intended to recommend to his Majesty for office, he offered no further opposition In that case, he said, "as friends of Mr Pitt" he should make no objection to them, and Mr Pitt need be under no uneasiness on the subject The King in fact, to use Lord Minto's words to Lord Malmesbury, "positively proscribed Fox and no one else" † Accordingly, when Pitt quitted the royal presence, it was with ample powers to construct a new Cabinet, with this single but momentous exception

There is scarcely any political act in the life of George the Third for which he has been more severely blamed than for his proscription of Fox on this celebrated occasion Surely, however, his conduct was not altogether indefeasible For instance, is it to be wondered at that he should have shrunk from admitting to his confidence and presence a man by whom he had not only, for years, been systematically reviled and insulted, but whom, whether justly or not, he regarded as the advocate of revolutionary principles, the fomenter of sedition, and, as has been already mentioned, as the corrupter of the morals of his firstborn? As Lord Malmesbury fairly points out, it was easy enough for Fox's personal friends, of whom his Lordship himself was one, to overlook the faults of a companion whom they dearly loved, and to find excuses for his political extravagances, but on what grounds could they expect the like indulgence on the part of the King, far removed as he was from the arena of Fox's fascinations, and moreover, accustomed, as he had been for

* Lord Colchester's Diaries vol. i. p 506 Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p 122.
† Rose's Diaries vol. ii. pp 123-4 Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv p 307

But if Fox's behaviour on this occasion was commendable, the same can scarcely be said of the conduct of his new ally, Lord Grenville. Pleading as his excuse the exclusion of Fox from the Cabinet, he not only deserted Pitt in his season of difficulty—and at a time when, together, they might have constructed a vigorous and durable Administration—but he deserted him for an alliance with a man of whose political conduct he had almost uniformly disapproved. Fox and Grenville, it must be remembered, had not only, at no time, associated on terms of intimacy or friendship, but, previously to the period of their joint campaign against Addington, their interests had been as wide apart as their political principles. To Pitt, on the contrary, Lord Grenville lay under great obligations. He and Pitt were near relatives. For years they had been personal friends, as well as colleagues in office. Grenville's conduct therefore in separating himself from Pitt, at the present crisis of national difficulty, very naturally exposed him to strong animadversion. Such conduct, as Lord Malmesbury justly observes, "superseded early and intimate connexions, both political and of friendship, obligations without end received, and broke up an uniformity of conduct which had begun with Lord Grenville's public existence."* Very different, under similar circumstances, had been the behaviour of Pitt in the spring of 1803, when, rather than separate his interests from those of his impracticable cousin, he had foregone the almost certain acquisition of the Premiership. Accordingly his indignation at the treatment which he now experienced may be readily imagined. He would teach that proud man, he told Lord Eldon, that in the service of, and with the confidence of his Sovereign, he could do without him, even though the effort might cost him his life.† Of "the

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 330.

† Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 449. *See* also Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 127.

brotherhood," as the King styled the Grenvilles, it was shrewdly observed by his Majesty at this time, that "they must always either govern despotically, or oppose Government violently." *

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 324. "This emancipation from Pitt," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 7th, "strange as it may seem, has, I have for many years perceived, been the ruling wish in Lord Grenville's mind. He now throws off the mask, and he does it more confidently as being connected with a strong party, and any idea of past obligation, or consanguinity with Pitt, has no effect on him. The French proverb is here verified—'*Un bon ami vaut mieux que trois mauvais parents.*'" —*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 309.

CHAPTER LIX.

Members of Pitt's new Administration—Favours pressed by the King upon Addington—Affection shown for the King by the Eton scholars—His convalescence—Negotiations for a reconciliation between him and the Prince of Wales—Sojourn of the Court at Weymouth—The King's interview with an eccentric Divine—Royal visit to Cuffnells—The King's impaired vision.

On the 12th of May, 1804, Pitt was gazetted as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; shortly after which date were announced the other Ministerial arrangements by means of which he proposed to carry on his unpromising Administration. "Nothing," writes Lord Grenville to Lord Buckingham, "can make me more wretched than the manner in which Pitt is eking out his Government with Roses and Dundases; but this weather leaves one little inclination to come to town, or to do or say anything against it."* Of the members of the Addington Cabinet, the six following remained in office:—

Duke of Portland, President of the Council.
Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Chatham, Master-General of the Ordnance.
Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Castlereagh, President of the Board of Control.

The following were announced as the new admissions to the Cabinet:—

* Buckingham Papers, vol. iii. p. 355.

Mr Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Earl of Harrowby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Earl Camden, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.
Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty.
Duke of Montrose, President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Mulgrave, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Side by side with these names, it is not uninteresting to compare the following list—such as it exists in Pitt's own handwriting—of the appointments which he had intended to submit to the King, had he been joined by Fox and the Grenvilles :—

Treasury . . .	Mr Pitt
Secretaries of State . .	Lord Melville. Mr Fox Lord Fitzwilliam
Admiralty.	Lord Spencer.
Lord President	Lord Grenville
Privy Seal	Duke of Portland.
Lord Chancellor.	Lord Eldon
Master-General of Ordnance . .	Lord Chatham.
Chancellor of Duchy	Mr Windham.
Board of Control	Lord Castlereagh.
Lord Steward	Lord Camden.
Committee of Trade	Lord Harrowby.
Secretary-at-War	Mr Grey.
Secretary to Ireland	Mr Canning.

Of these fifteen persons, five, it may be mentioned, either had been, or at a later period became, Prime Ministers *

The King to the Right Hon. Henry Addington

"QUEEN S PALACE, *May 9th*, 1804, ½ p' 6 P M

"The King has, this instant, finished a long but most satisfactory conversation with Mr Pitt, who will stand forth though Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham have declined

* Earl Stanhope s Life of Pitt, vol. iv pp. 176, 177, and *fac-simile* of the list in Mr Pitt s handwriting at the commencement of the volume.

even treating, as Mr. Fox is excluded by the express command of the King to Mr. Pitt. This being the case, the King desires Mr. Addington will attend here at ten to-morrow morning with the Seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"The King's friendship for Mr. Addington is too deeply graven on his heart to be in the least diminished by any change of situation. His Majesty will order the Warrant to be prepared, for creating Mr. Addington Earl of Banbury, Viscount Wallingford and Baron Reading; and will order the message to be carried by Mr. Yorke to the House of Commons for the usual annuity, having most honourably and ably filled the station of Speaker of the House of Commons. The King will settle such a pension on Mrs. Addington, whose virtue and modesty he admires, as Mr. Addington may choose to propose.

"GEORGE R."*

On the following day, the honours and the pension referred to in this letter were again personally pressed upon Addington by his Sovereign in the royal closet, but, much to the King's regret, were without hesitation refused. "You are a proud man, Mr. Addington," he said, "but I am a proud man too; and why should I sleep uneasy on my pillow because you will not comply with my request?" Addington, however, persisted in repelling every entreaty made him by the King, who, it will be perceived, did not the less cordially extend to him his regard.

The King to Lord Eldon.

[*Extract.*]

"QUEEN'S PALACE, *May* 18*th*, 1804, $\frac{m}{5}$ p[t] 10 A.M.

"The King saw Mr. Addington yesterday. Mr. Addington spoke with his former warmth of friendship for the Lord Chancellor. He seems to require quiet, as his mind is perplexed between returning affection for Mr. Pitt, and great soreness at the contemptuous treatment he met with at the end of the last session from one he had ever looked upon as his private friend.

* Pellew's Life of Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 288. *See* also Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 513.

This makes the King resolved to keep them for some time asunder.

"GEORGE R."*

The King to Mr Addington.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, May 23rd, 1804, 7 p 7 P M

"The King is ever glad to mark the high esteem and friendship he has for so excellent a man as Mr. Addington, and will be truly gratified in seeing him this morning at ten o'clock in his usual morning-dress—the King trusts in boots—as he shall be glad to think Mr Addington does not abstain from an exercise that is so conducive to his health, and [which] will keep him in readiness with his Woodley yeomen to join his Majesty, should Buonaparte or any of his savage followers dare to cross the Channel.

"GEORGE R"†

Addington accordingly was the same day admitted to an interview with his Sovereign, which, for a season, proved to be their last As parting testimonies of the regret with which the King bade farewell to his amiable Minister, he paid him the compliment of taking the Queen and Princesses to visit him at the White Lodge in Rich-mond Park; an honour which was followed, [illegible] afterwards, by his presenting him with a copy [illegible] portrait of himself on horseback, as well [illegible] two other portraits, one of himself, and [illegible] Queen, in their respective robes of St[illegible] 1804," writes a contemporary, "Add[illegible] Metcalf a letter he had received [illegible] panied by a present of his M[illegible] contained the following expres[illegible] trait painted in the robes [illegible]

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, [illegible]
† Pellew's Life of Lord [illegible]
‡ Ibid., vol. ii. pp. [illegible]

when you, the best and most correct Speaker the House of Commons ever witnessed, have occasionally addressed me on the throne."*

It should be mentioned, as affording remarkable evidence of the King's knowledge of, and of the interest which he took in public business, that he made a point with Addington that, before he vacated his seat at the Board of Treasury, certain clerical arrears in that department should be cleared off.†

Lord Eldon, it may be remembered, had formerly expressed apprehensions lest the King's reason might succumb to the excitement occasioned by passing events. Unhappily, those apprehensions proved to be only too well founded. "I have had another interview to-day," writes Pitt to the Chancellor on the 9th of May, "not quite, I am sorry to say, so satisfactory as that of Monday. I do not think there was anything positively wrong, but there was a hurry of spirits and an excessive love of talking, which showed that either the airing of this morning, or the seeing so many persons, and conversing so much during these three days, has rather tended to disturb."‡ From this time, for many subsequent months, although the King was apparently seldom so disordered as to be completely disqualified from transacting public business, yet his mind continued in a most unsettled state. On the former occasions of his having recovered from his mental maladies he had awoke invigorated and cheerful; but unfortunately, in the present instance, he was a prey to a settled hypochondriacism. Formerly, when prostrated by illness, he had been all patience, gentleness, and consideration for others; but now expressions of fretfulness

* MS. Journals of Colonel Henry Norton Willis, Comptroller of the Household to the Princess Charlotte of Wales. † Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 512.
‡ Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 445.

and impatience only too often escaped his lips. Those who loved him almost began to think that disease had changed his kind and almost perfect disposition.

It was remarked, as a peculiar feature of the King's disorder, that though his language was often incoherent, and though he frequently showed himself harsh and suspicious in the presence of those who were domesticated with him, yet, when conversing with persons whom he had reason to regard with deference or respect, he rarely, if ever, betrayed any sign of mental derangement.* For instance, at a Privy Council over which he presided on the 24th of May, his manner and language would seem to have been all propriety and composure; and yet at this very time his intellects were evidently in a most disordered state. "Lady Uxbridge," writes Lord Malmesbury two days afterwards, "very uneasy about the King. Said his family were quite unhappy; that his temper was altered. He had just dismissed his faithful and favourite page, Braun, who had served him during his illness with the greatest attention. Quiet and repose were the only chance."† This sad account was confirmed to Lord Malmesbury on the following day, both by Lord Pembroke and by Mrs. Harcourt. The King, said the latter, "had dismissed and turned away, and made capricious changes everywhere, from the Lord Chamberlain‡ to the grooms and footmen. He had turned away the Queen's favourite coachman, made footmen grooms, and *vice versâ;* and, what was still worse, because more notorious, had removed lords of the bedchamber without a

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 317, 320. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 143.

† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 325. "I this day heard," writes Rose, "that his Majesty had dismissed Mr. Braun, certainly one of the most attached, faithful, and honest servants he has; a particular favourite, too, to this week even. How Mr. Pitt is to carry on the Government creditably, if the King is to be in the hands of the physicians, I cannot discover; nor how he can well resist an inquiry and examination of the physicians, if that shall be pressed in the House of Commons."—*Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 140.

‡ See *ante*, p. 358, *note*.

shadow of reason.* That *all this* afflicted the Royal Family beyond measure. The Queen was ill and *cross;* the Princesses low, depressed, and quite sinking under it; and that unless means could be found to place some very strong-minded and temperate person about the King, he would either commit some extravagance, or he would, by violent exercise and carelessness, injure his health and bring on a deadly illness."†

Happily, on the 26th, the King was well enough to remove to Windsor, where he remained till the 29th. It should be mentioned that, on the former of those days, as his carriage was passing through Eton, the Eton boys, overjoyed at his apparent recovery, not only gave him a rapturous reception, but followed him, with repeated rounds of cheers and huzzas, till he alighted from his carriage in the quadrangle of Windsor Castle. The next day, happening in the course of his ride to fall in with one or two of the scholars, the good-natured monarch entered freely into conversation with them, and heartily thanked them for the reception which they had given him. He had always, he said, loved Eton, but now he should be more partial to her than ever. "I shall in future," he added, "be an anti-Westminster." Some months afterwards, in the course of a conversation with Mr. Rose at Cuffnells, the King reverted to the subject with manifest satisfaction. He had through life, he said, made it an invariable rule to store in his memory the better qualities

* The Lords of the Bedchamber, who were removed in May, 1804, were the Earl of Westmeath and Lord Amherst, who made room for Alleyne Lord St. Helens and Charles Lord Arden.

† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. 326, 327. "*Thursday, June* 7.—With Lord Camden at his office. He explained to me the awkward circumstance, viz., that the King had given Pelham the Stick [as Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard] without giving any previous notice of it to Pitt; that this was provoking and vexatious, and Pitt felt it severely, yet scarce knew what was right to be done."—*Lord Malmesbury's Diaries*, vol. iv. p. 334. For particulars of the embarrassing changes made by the King in the Royal Household at this period, *see* Rose's Diaries for 23rd, 26th, 28th, 29th, and 30th May, vol. ii. pp. 139-143.

and feelings of others, and to discard as much as poss from his thoughts the bad "On this principle," he add "I shall always cherish the remembrance of the natu and sudden impulse by which the Eton boys were actuate when they received me with such affectionate and mark congratulations after my last recovery"*

From the pen of the Duke of York we have one or tw interesting notices of the condition of the King's mind a this time. "I am afraid from what I have heard," he writes to Lord Eldon on the 25th of May, "that things are not comfortable at the Queen's House this morning, and wish that you would inquire of Sir Francis Milman and Dr Simmons before you go in to the King, as he seems to dwell much upon the illegality of his confinement, and is not aware of the dreadful consequences which may attend him if any unfortunate circumstance can be brought forward in Parliament"† The next day the Duke, in writing to the Chancellor, alludes to the King entertaining notions in regard to foreign politics which "could only be creatures of an imagination heated and disordered;" and again, on the 29th, the day on which the King returned from Windsor, he writes as follows —

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 146, 147, 167 An interesting and valuable little volume, recently published, contains the following pleasing evidence of the King's partiality for the Eton boys of his time —"His Majesty took a lively personal interest in the boys, and knew the most distinguished of them by name and sight 'All people think highly of Eton, everybody praises Eton,' he said to young De Quincey He was hospitable to them in his old way On one occasion he sent to invite them in a body to the Terrace, and kept them all to supper—'remembering to forget' to extend the enter tainment to the masters who had accompanied them, and who returned home in great dudgeon. There were many instances of his kindness to individuals in the school. A boy was once rushing 'down town at a tremendous pace, being rather late for 'absence' when he ran full butt against the King and 'took the wind very consider ably out of the royal person' Of course he stopped to apologize, which made his appearance, even at 'second name,' absolutely hopeless. But the good natured King asked him his name, and took the trouble to write a note to the head master to explain the delay On another occasion, when a boy was expelled for poaching in Windsor Home Park—a misdemeanour which was not uncommon—the King thinking that the punishment was too severe for the offence, gave him a commission in the Guards.' Eto iana p 92 3.

† Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i p 453.

The Duke of York to Lord Eldon.

"MY DEAR LORD, "PORTMAN SQUARE, *May 29th*, 1804.

"I have many thanks to return your Lordship for your letter, and am sorry not to be able to give you a much better account of his Majesty than what you remarked yourself on Sunday [the 27th].

"Though by all accounts less hurried than the day before, I found his Majesty agitated and very unguarded in his conversation.

"Should it not be inconvenient to your Lordship to call at any time to-day, between two and six o'clock, at the Horse Guards, I shall be happy to see you, as I am anxious to mention to your Lordship some circumstances of which I think it of consequence that you should be informed.

"Believe me ever, my dear Lord,

"Yours most sincerely,

"FREDERICK.*

"THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR."

Not less unsatisfactory than the Duke's account is an entry in Lord Malmesbury's Diary of the same day:—"Lord Uxbridge at two; very low about the King. He was just come from Windsor. 'Don't question me,' he said; 'I am quite unhappy. Simmons is a ——.' The Willises say they were paid so shabbily by Addington that they would not return to the Court; but I do not believe they had the choice."†

Yet, notwithstanding the very unpromising character of these reports, the King was certainly making progress towards recovery. For instance, Lord Malmesbury was told by General Harcourt on the 1st of June that he had lately seen the King on several occasions and for a long time together, and that in looks, in manner, and in conversation, he considered him to be in a more satisfactory state than at any time since the commencement of his

* Eldon MS. Original. † Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 328.

illness.* Pitt, too, who saw him on the following day, and whom "he received with perfect kindness," quitted the royal closet impressed with the same favourable conviction. "On the whole," writes Rose, "Mr. Pitt thought him remarkably well; talking on all subjects in as collected a manner as he had ever known him to do. His Majesty, among other subjects, talked of Lord Grenville and his friends in terms of great moderation."†

The following brief extracts from Lord Colchester's Diary afford further evidence of the King's temporary convalescence:—

"*Saturday, June 2nd.*—Lord Wilton said the King was much better yesterday than when he saw him some days ago. He has written some very able letters, particularly one to Lord Harrowby upon the conduct of correspondence with Foreign Powers.

"*4th.*—The King's birthday. A Drawing Room, at which the Queen and Princesses, but not the King, were present. The Prince was not there, but drove through the streets upon the coach-box of his barouche. The Princess of Wales was there."‡ Lord Malmesbury also mentions that the King was not at the Drawing Room, which was "immensely crowded;" but he adds that he "continues well and mending."§

On the following day, the King, after holding a Council, was well enough to give audiences in the royal closet to various persons, among whom was Lord Pelham, who came to deliver up the Seals of the Chancellorship of

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 333. † Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 150.

‡ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 517. "It was known," writes Lord Stanhope, "that his Majesty was strict in requiring the attendance of his family and household at the Drawing Room held every year in honour of his birth day, on the 4th of June. In 1804, not only did the Prince on that day remain absent from Court, but to prove that his absence was not owing to indisposition, he drove through the streets upon the coach-box of his barouche. Nevertheless, a reconciliation was desired by his own friends as much as by the King's."—*Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt*, vol. iv. p. 227.

§ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 333.

the Duchy of Lancaster. At the moment when he was about to present them, the King stopped him. "Before," he said, "I can allow you to empty *your* hands, you must empty *mine;*" at the same time presenting him with the Stick of Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. "It will be less a sinecure than formerly," added the King, "as I intend living more with my great officers."* "A Council," writes Rose, "was this day held at the Queen's House, previously to which there was a sort of private levee there, at which I kissed his Majesty's hand as Joint Paymaster-General. This was the first time I had seen the King since his recovery. He spoke to me for about ten minutes, and I never saw him more entirely well; perfectly composed and collected; if anything, less hurried in his manner than usual. He talked to me chiefly about my family, for all of whom he inquired with great kindness; but there was no appearance of any unbecoming familiarity."†

On the 17th of July, a letter from Lord Henley to Lord Auckland gives a very favourable account of the King's health,‡ and on the 31st he prorogued Parliament in person. "He looked extremely well," writes Lord Colchester, "and read the Speech well, with great animation, but accidentally turned over two leaves together, and so omitted about one-fourth of his intended Speech. It happened, however, *that* the transition was not incoherent, and it escaped some of the Cabinet who had heard it before the King delivered it."§ "The King," writes Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland two days afterwards, "certainly looked well and cheerful at the House of Lords, and I will report to you what I think of him on my return from Windsor

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 333, 334.
† Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 152.
‡ Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 203.
§ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 522.

on Sunday. A reconciliation between the King and the Prince, for the purpose of prevailing upon Lord Moira to take office—probably the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, with Tierney for his Secretary—is just now, I conceive, the object at which Mr. Pitt is working, and if it can be attained, must have the effect of considerably strengthening his Government." *

Having now traced the progress of the King's health during the months of May, June, and July, the present seems to be a proper place for introducing a few specimens of the notes or letters written by the King at this anxious season. The two first letters, addressed to Lord Castlereagh, then President of the Board of Control, will be found peculiarly interesting, as evincing that the King permitted neither mental nor bodily illness to interfere with the transaction of public business, or his regard for the public interests.

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.†

"QUEEN'S PALACE, *May 22nd*, 1804.

"The King has no doubt that every possible attention, which can with propriety be shown to the Emperor of China, must

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 206

† This letter, it should be mentioned, is the first of a series of unpublished letters addressed by George the Third to the celebrated statesman, Robert Viscount Castlereagh, afterwards second Marquis of Londonderry. The originals of these letters—as the author was informed some years ago by the present Marquis—were lost on the occasion of the shipwreck of the effects of his lordship's former tutor, Dr. Turner, Bishop of Calcutta, who had received permission to carry them with him, for biographical purposes, to India. Fortunately, copies of them had been previously placed in the hands of the late Mr. Croker, to assist in forming as complete a collection as possible of the letters and notes addressed by George the Third to his several Ministers. To this laudable object the reader is indebted for their appearance in these volumes, as also for the appearance, for the first time, of the King's letters to Lords Weymouth and Howe, and other documents of interest. By the late King of Hanover, and by other well wishers to the King's memory, much interest seems to have been taken in this proposed collection, it being evidently their opinion, as it will also probably prove to be the opinion of others, that such a publication would go far to raise, in the estimation of the public, the King's reputation for ability, industry, and judgment. Copies of the King's letters to Lords Chatham, Rockingham, and Halifax, were also placed in Mr. Croker's hands by the possessors of the originals, but they have, since then, made their appearance in other printed works.

be attended with indulgences on his part to our trade with his subjects. It were much to be wished, for the advantage of this country, that the territorial possessions of the East India Company were made over to this kingdom, and the Company alone be engaged in pursuing their commercial concerns.

"The King takes this opportunity of assuring Lord Castlereagh with great truth, that he thinks it both highly advantageous to his service, as well as personally agreeable to himself, that Lord Castlereagh remains at the head of the Indian Board. It requires a man of talents, and above [all] a man of a calm temper, and not wanting of firmness, as the Directors are ever desirous of getting rid of a curb to their interested views.

"GEORGE R.

"P.S.—Mr. Moteux is wrongly informed. The King never signs his name a-top to letters, but as he has done on the present occasion.

"G. R."

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, *May* 23*rd*, 1804, $\frac{m}{30}$ p[t] 6 A.M.

"The King is so pleased with the handsome, and he may [say] attached note he received the last evening from Lord Castlereagh, that he cannot refrain from expressing the satisfaction it has given him. His Majesty ever has looked upon the goodness of the private character as the only criterion of the utility or danger of the abilities of any man to the country. Lord Castlereagh's has ever been praiseworthy, and fortunately he has ever been bred up a friend to good government, and therefore he can hold up his head, having no former opinions to forget before he can take his true line, which evil hangs ever a weight round the neck, most inconveniently, to some politicians.

"The King had ever a great regard for the late Marquis of Hertford, which ever inclined him to see with a favourable eye the conduct of Lord Castlereagh,* and makes him rejoice that Lord Castlereagh's services in the House of Commons are not precarious, as they would have been had the Earl of Londonderry been created a British Peer.

"Nothing can be more proper than the conduct of that valuable

* Lord Castlereagh was grandson to the, then, late Lord Hertford, his mother being Lady Sarah Frances Seymour, daughter of Francis first Marquis of Hertford, the nobleman to whom the King refers. Lord Hertford died 14th June, 1794.

man, the Earl of Camden, [in] his judicious choice of Mr Croker as his Under Secretary, a man whose political conduct, and steady principles of government, have ever been in Ireland conspicuous *

"GEORGE R. †

The King to Lord Eldon.

QUEEN'S PALACE, *June 8th* 1804.

"The King, on returning from his walk in the garden, has found the Lord Chancellor's note, accompanied by the titles of the three Bills wherein the property of the Crown is affected

"His Majesty fully authorises his most excellent Lord Eldon to give his consent to the House of Lords proceeding with these Bills, and in particular approves of the one for laying open Westminster Abbey to Palace Yard Whatever makes the people more accustomed *to view Cathedrals must raise their veneration for the* Established Church The King will with equal pleasure consent, when it is proposed, to the purchasing and pulling down the west side of Bridge Street and the houses fronting Westminster Hall as it will be opening to the traveller that ancient pile which is the seat of administration of the best laws and the most uprightly administered, and if the people really valued the religion and laws of this blessed country, we should stand on a rock that no time could destroy

"GEORGE R."‡

The King to Viscount Castlereagh

QUEEN'S PALACE *June 11th* 1804 $\frac{m}{55}$ p^t 10

"The King takes this method of forwarding to Lord Castlereagh the contents of the box from the Nabob of Arcot It contained nothing but a complimentary letter on the conduct of Lord Clive, which ought, on the departure of the next ships to India, to be answered Lord Castlereagh will therefore order a proper letter for that purpose to be prepared

"GEORGE R." §

* John Croker Esq for many years Surveyor General of Customs and Excise in Ireland. Edmund Burke speaks of him as a man of great abilities and most amiable manners an able and upright public steward, and universally respected and beloved in private life.

† MS Original.

‡ Twiss's Life of Eldon vol. i. p 454.

§ Eldon MS. Original.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"*June 12th*, 1804.

"The King cannot refrain from expressing to Mr. Pitt that he thinks the increase of majority last night * highly advantageous to the cause of good government; and that the more he reflects on Mr. Pitt's proposition, now framing into a Bill in the House of Commons, the more he sees the judiciousness of the measure.

"He cannot think the line of conduct held by Mr. Addington is either wise or dignified. That of Mr. Yorke is open to more indulgence; he having been the adviser of all the alterations made in the mode of defence from the time of Lord Pelham's retiring from the service, and the not being a little wedded to his own opinion.

"G. R." †

The King to Mr. Pitt.

[*Extract.*]

"*June 16th*, 1804.

"His Majesty trusts to the goodness of his cause, his own resolution to support the present Administration with all his might, and to the spirit, uprightness, and talents of Mr. Pitt. This combination scarcely can fail of success. At least it will deserve it.

"G. R." ‡

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, *June 22nd*, 1804, $\frac{27}{45}$ pt 6 P.M.

"His Majesty has just received the Lord Chancellor's note, and thinks it every way better to come [to London] on Saturday by eleven to see the Physicians; and will be glad, if it can be convenient to the Lord Chancellor, that he would call at the Queen's Palace at the same hour.

"GEORGE R." §

* On the propriety of the House of Commons going into a Committee on the "Additional Force Bill." Ministers obtained a majority of fifty; the ayes being 219, and the noes 169.—*Annual Register for* 1804, p. 97.

† Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv., Appendix, p. xvi. Addington, on the 5th inst., and Yorke on the 8th, had severally spoken in the House of Commons against Pitt's plan for the military defence of the country.—*Annual Register for* 1804, pp. 90-93.

‡ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv., Appendix, p. xvi.

§ Eldon MS. Original.

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, *June 30th*, 1804

"The King easily conceives that unless the House of Commons can be taught the utility of having more forecast, and consequently bringing in Bills earlier in the course of the Sessions, the present evil [must continue] of occasioning much hurry and too little decent deliberation in the House of Lords.

"But, in truth, part of this must inevitably be laid this year to the King's long, tedious, and *never-ending* confinement, which has thrown much perplexity in every quarter, but which he is resolved, with the protection of Divine Providence, carefully to avoid in future. His Majesty saw yesterday afternoon Mr. Pitt, and was much pleased with the appearance of his health, and his good spirits at the great success in the House of Lords, and total dereliction of the motley Opposition *

"Mr Pitt brings in his proposals for exonerating the Civil List, and the provision for the King's five daughters, of which the King gave them information last night, and saw with the highest satisfaction their affectionate gratitude

GEORGE R "†

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, *July 6th*, 1804, m/10 p^t 8 A.M.

"The King proposes seeing his physicians at the Queen's Palace to-morrow morning, and therefore will be glad if the Lord Chancellor can without inconvenience be there at eleven.

"GEORGE R." ‡

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, *July 24th*, 1804

"The King returns the instrument appointing Mr Ryder a Welsh Judge, which he has signed, and is so certain of the good intentions of the Lord Chancellor that he rests secure that his language to the Earl of Moira has been prudent, and very conformant to that his Majesty has suggested

* On the 2?th Government had carried the "Additional Force Bill" in the House of Lords by a majority of 154 against 69 — *Annual Register for* 1804 p. 104.

† Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 458 9

‡ Eldon MS. Original.

"The business must now rest here, till the time of the King's departure is settled by Dr. Simmons giving notice that he relinquishes any farther attendance. Then his Majesty will authorize the Lord Chancellor to see again the Earl of Moira, and in the mean time have his interview with the Princess of Wales, previous to taking the painful step of seeing the Prince of Wales before he sets out for Weymouth.

"GEORGE R." *

It should be mentioned that, on the 4th of this month, the Prince of Wales had addressed a letter to the Queen, expressing deep regret that his estrangement from the King should be the means of debarring him from the society of his mother and sisters, and appealing to his father's feelings to grant him an interview. "Were this allowed me," he writes, "I should fly to throw myself at the King's feet, and offer to him the testimony of my ever unvarying attachment. I have long grieved that misrepresentations have estranged his Majesty's mind from me, and the most anxious wish of my heart is for the opportunity of dispelling that coldness. Every consideration renders this distance most severely painful. My first object is the gratification of the feelings of affection, leaving all else to the spontaneous dictates of my father's kindness; and, if any public view can mingle with this sentiment, it is the incalculable importance to his Majesty and the country, of the whole Royal Family appearing united in a moment so awful as the present." † The King, it will be perceived, consented to grant the Prince an interview, but evidently with reluctance, and with very little confidence in his son's professions.

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, *August 20th*, 1804.

"The King trusts his excellent Lord Chancellor felt himself authorized, on Saturday, to acquaint the Prince of Wales that, in

* Eldon MS. Original.

† Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 460.

consequence of what the Earl of Moira has been authorized to express, his Majesty is willing to receive the Prince of Wales on Wednesday at Kew, provided no explanation or excuses are attempted to be made by the Prince of Wales, but that it is merely to be a visit of civility, as any retrospect could but oblige the King to utter truths which, instead of healing, must widen the present breach His Majesty will have the Queen, Princesses, and at least one of his sons, the Duke of Cambridge, present on the occasion The Lord Chancellor is to fix on twelve o clock for the hour of the Prince of Wales s coming to Kew

"The King cannot conclude without expressing his earnest wishes that the union to take place on Wednesday,* in the Scott family, may prove a source of happiness to them, as his Majesty must ever be a sharer in any event that may add to the domestic felicity of his Lord Chancellor

"GEORGE R †

If the King's invitation to his heir to meet him at Kew was neither a very hearty nor very flattering one, the manner in which it was responded to by the Prince was, to say the least, quite as wanting in courtesy and filial deference We have the King's authority, and indeed his own words, that he received a communication from his son "notifying that he will be at Kew at the appointed hour," ‡ and yet we not only find him changing his intention, but, in an interview which he sought with the Lord Chancellor, bluntly ordering him to apprise the King that he positively refused to be present at the appointed meeting Such conduct naturally provoked a respectful remonstrance from the Chancellor, but to little purpose "Sir," said the Prince angrily, "who gave you authority to advise me?" The Chancellor, however, was not to be brow beaten It was a matter of

* The marriage referred to by the King was that of the Honourable John Scott, the Chancellor s eldest son and Henrietta Elizabeth daughter of Sir Matthew White

regret to him, he said, that he should have given offence to his Royal Highness, but, at the same time, he added firmly—"I am his Majesty's Chancellor, and it is for me to judge what messages I ought to take to his Majesty. Your Royal Highness must send some other messenger with that communication. *I* will not take it."*

In the mean time, the Queen and Princesses—still proud and fond of the showy and dashing Prince in spite of all his delinquencies—had assembled with the King at Kew in happy anticipation of the family reconciliation they had been led to expect, when a groom arrived from Bushy Park—where the Prince was apparently a guest of his brother, the Duke of Clarence—bringing an excuse that he was prevented keeping his appointment by indisposition.† The King, as we learn from the Buckingham Papers, was highly indignant; yet the following lines appear to contain the only notice which he openly took of the slight.

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, *August 22nd*, 1804, 10 min. past 1 P.M.

"The King, soon after his arrival here with the Queen and his daughters, found the Dukes of Kent and Cambridge, since which, the Lord Chancellor's letter has been brought by a servant of the Prince of Wales. The King authorizes the Lord Chancellor to express to the Prince of Wales his sorrow at his being unwell. That, in consequence of this, his Majesty will postpone his interview with the Prince of Wales until his return from Weymouth, and then, as was now intended, it will be in presence of his family at Kew, of which the Lord Chancellor will be empowered to give due notice to the Prince of Wales.

"GEORGE R."‡

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, pp. 463, 464.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. pp. 208, 209. On the 19th of September following, Fox writes to Lord Grey:—"My judgment is, that if a reconciliation could have taken place by the Queen it was right; if by Mr. Pitt it was wrong; but Tierney saw no such distinction. The refusal to see the King had gone before I knew anything more than when I went to Cheltenham. I should not have advised it."—*Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox*, vol. iv. pp. 59, 60.

‡ Twiss, vol. i. p. 464.

The Queen had urged her consort to write to this effect, direct to the Prince himself, but this he positively declined doing He would never again, he told her, write to any one who published his letters *

On the 23rd of August, being the day previous to the departure of the Court for Weymouth, the King, as was his custom when on the eve of setting out on a journey, presented himself on the Terrace at Windsor for the purpose of exchanging kind words of farewell with such persons whom he loved and respected, as were there to pay their respects to him, and to wish him a prosperous journey The following morning the royal party set out from the Queen's Lodge At Heckfield Heath, they stopped to dine at Sir William Pitt s, and after having supped at the Star and Garter at Andover, resumed their journey, travelling all night, to Weymouth Although it was so late as five o'clock in the morning when the King arrived at his destination, he was nevertheless to be seen soon after seven, on his favourite Esplanade, rejoicing the visitors and inhabitants of Weymouth with his good-humoured smiles, and pleasant bows of recognition After breakfast he mounted his horse and inspected the Hanoverian Legion, and in the afternoon reviewed the German Legion, the Somersetshire Militia, and Weymouth Volunteers The danger of invasion was at this time as imminent as ever, and accordingly no fewer than four thousand troops were stationed in the neighbourhood for the protection of the King's person, while, in addition to several smaller vessels of war, two frigates, the 'Crescent' and 'Æolus,' rode in the bay It was possibly about this time that the King addressed the following undated letter to Bishop Hurd, again signifying his intention of removing the Queen and Princesses

* See *ante* pp. 333 334, and *note*

to the Episcopal Palace of Worcester, in the event of Napoleon effecting a successful landing on the shores of England.

The King to Bishop Hurd.

"MY DEAR GOOD BISHOP,

"It has been thought by some of my friends that it will be necessary to remove my family. Should I be under the painful necessity, I do not know where I could place them with so much satisfaction to myself, and, under Providence, with so much security, as with yourself and my friends at Worcester. It does not appear to be probable that there will be any occasion for it, for I do not think the unhappy man who threatens will dare to venture himself among us; neither do I wish you to make any preparation for us, but I thought it right to give you this information.

"I remain, my dear good Bishop,

"GEORGE R."*

During the King's stay at Weymouth he had the appearance of being in excellent health and spirits. Whether questioning the common sailor on the subject of his noble profession; whether discussing with naval officers the threatening prospect of invasion; whether discoursing about agriculture with the Dorsetshire farmers, or conversing in German with the officers of the foreign legions, George the Third, as usual, won all hearts by his urbanity and kindness. As usual, too, he never seemed to be idle for a single moment. The hours in which he was not engaged in business were employed by him in reviewing the troops or in witnessing sham fights; in visiting places of interest in the neighbourhood, or in pleasant excursions on the water. During his visit, Weymouth seems to have been one scene of gaiety. The anniversary of his forty-second wedding-day, the 8th of September, he celebrated by a fête presided over by the Princess Elizabeth, followed by

* MS. from the original, formerly in the possession of the late Bishop Barrington.

a splendid ball in the evening On the 22nd, the anniversary of his Coronation, there was a grand review on the neighbouring Downs, and afterwards a banquet and ball, at which the King and Queen remained till nearly midnight, and again, on the 29th, the King gave an entertainment on board the royal yachts which were in attendance upon him, in honour of the anniversary of the birth of his eldest daughter, the Queen of Wurtemberg

On the 10th of October the King and Queen and the Princesses paid a visit to Lord Dorchester at Milton Abbey, where they remained till the 13th, when they returned to Weymouth It should be mentioned that among the portraits in the Library at Milton, the King was much struck with that of a rather remarkable looking person in a canonical habit, represented as seated in an armed chair, holding a book in one of his hands It was a portrait, by Thomas Beach, a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds, of the Reverend William Chafin, a popular fox hunting clergyman in the neighbourhood, and chaplain to the Dorsetshire Yeomanry Cavalry In answer to the King's inquiries, Lord Dorchester intimated that it was a good likeness of the original, whom His Majesty would probably see before he quitted Milton Abbey, and in that case he would be able to judge for himself It should be further mentioned that the reverend gentleman, in consequence of having fallen under the displeasure of his Bishop, was on the point of removing from the county Happily, however, his departure was delayed till the King had been afforded an opportunity of seeing and conversing with him The occasion of their meeting was a morning visit paid by the King to Rushmore Lodge, a seat of Lord Rivers, situated in the centre of Cranbourne Chase "The road to it,' writes the reverend gentleman, "was the great western turnpike, until they came to a direction post near my house, where a private road branches off leading to the lodge, but

house was in view for near a mile before the carriages came to that spot, and I believe his Majesty had noticed it, and had made some inquiries about it. His Majesty's journey being made known, many persons went out of curiosity to see the cavalcade pass by; and, among others, my two nieces and I were standing near the place where the road turned, when his Majesty's carriage suddenly stopped, and a horseman rode up to us, whom I immediately knew to be Lord Walsingham, and he knew me." "His Lordship," proceeds the reverend gentleman, after a short digression, "addressing me with a smile on his countenance, said—'His Majesty wants to speak to you: he wants to see whether your picture at Lord Dorchester's is a good likeness.' I was much confused at this notice, and was hastening towards his Majesty's carriage, when I observed a favourite little dog of my nieces running under the wheels of another carriage, which, with some difficulty, I released and took it up in my arms, and in that situation presented myself at the side of his Majesty's chaise.

"His Majesty very graciously begun a conversation with me by asking me if that house, pointing to it, was not mine? I answered his Majesty that it was. He observed that it was pleasantly situate and appeared a good old mansion. I informed his Majesty that it was built by my father. He said that he thought it must have been much older, and then very quickly added—'Walsingham tells me that you are about to leave this fine healthy county for the foggy one of Cambridgeshire.' I answered, 'Yes,—and please your Majesty I do it for reasons with which if your Majesty was acquainted, I think you would not much blame me.' He instantly said—'I know—I know all.' And then, looking earnestly at me, he said to Lord Walsingham—'Beach has done justice; it is a good likeness—a good picture.' Then,

looking at me again with a smile on his countenance, said,—'In your picture you are drawn with a book in your hand, but now you have a dog—a pleasanter companion, I suppose, for Walsingham has informed me that you are a sportsman All in character, I find' And immediately the glass was drawn up, and the cavalcade passed on *

On the 29th of October the King took his departure from Weymouth, and on the same afternoon arrived at Mr Rose's seat, Cuffnells, with whom he had arranged that the Queen, the Princesses, and himself should pass a few days on the return of the Court to Windsor "His Majesty," writes the gratified host, "arrived at Cuffnells, from Weymouth, about four in the afternoon The Duke of Cumberland's regiment of Light Dragoons, and my eldest son's regiment of South Hants Yeomanry Cavalry, received his Majesty on the road near Stony Cross, and in the park at Cuffnells he was received by the Volunteers in the neighbourhood, amounting to about 1800 The Queen, all the Princesses, and the Duke of Cambridge, arrived at the same time, and four ladies attending the Queen and Princesses, viz, Lady Isabella Thynne, Lady Georgina Buckley, Lady Matilda Wynyard, and Lady Ilchester I dined with their Majesties, and in the evening was of their card party, and afterwards supped with them "†

During the King's stay at Cuffnells, there was not a day but he either rode or walked with his host, on which occasions his Majesty entertained him with many interesting particulars relating to his life and reign The evenings were passed in the society of the Queen and Princesses "I was constantly at table," writes Mr Rose, "with the Royal Family when they dined here, as well as every night at sup-

* Autobiography of the Rev William Chafin, in Nichols's Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century vol. vi. pp. 2L. 15.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p 173.

per, and every evening at cards." Thus all went on smoothly till the day previous to the departure of the Court from Cuffnells, when, as the King was riding side by side with his host, an incident occurred which is worthy of being recorded. "Of Lord North," writes Mr. Rose, "his Majesty was beginning to speak in very favourable terms, when we were interrupted by the Princess Amelia, who with the other Princesses was riding behind us, getting a most unfortunate fall. The horse, on cantering down an inconsiderable hill, came on his head, and threw her Royal Highness flat on her face. She rose without any appearance of being at all hurt, but evidently a good deal shaken, and notwithstanding an earnest wish to avoid occasioning the slightest alarm, was herself not desirous of getting on horseback again. But the King insisted that she should, if at all hurt, get into one of the carriages, and return to Cuffnells to be bled, or otherwise mount another horse, and ride on. She chose the latter, and rode to Southampton, where she lost some blood unknown to the King. I hazarded an advice, that no one else would do, for her Royal Highness's return, which was certainly not well received, and provoked a quickness from his Majesty that I experienced in no other instance. He observed that he could not bear that any of his family should want courage; to which I replied I hoped his Majesty would excuse me if I said I thought a proper attention to prevent the ill effects of an accident that *had* happened, was no symptom of a want of courage. He then said, with some warmth—'Perhaps it may be so; but I thank Heaven there is but one of my children who wants courage; and I will not name HIM, *because he is to succeed me.*' I own I was deeply pained at the observation, and dropped behind to speak to General Fitzroy, which gave a turn to the conversation."*

On the 2nd of November the King took his departure

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 193, 194, 195.

from Cuffnells, and, after stopping to dine with the Bishop of Winchester at Farnham Castle, arrived the same evening at Windsor.

It was while the King was staying at Cuffnells that we discover the first indication of his being afflicted by that distressing derangement of the visual organs, which a few years afterwards terminated in total blindness. He had nearly, he told Rose, lost the sight of one eye, and, even with the other, it was with the greatest difficulty that he could read a newspaper by candlelight, whatever might be the strength of his spectacles.*

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 196. Favourable as are the accounts which we have been able to glean of the state of the King's mind during his sojourn at Weymouth, there will nevertheless be found, in the 'Life of General Sir Robert Wilson' (pp 327-331), a painful narrative, drawn up by that distinguished officer, of certain eccentricities which are said to have marked his Majesty's conduct at that particular time. "The above," writes Sir Robert, alluding to the narrative in question, "was shown to Lord Moira, who asked me to let him show it to the Prince of Wales. The Prince sent me a very civil message through Lord Moira, and added a wish that 'I would make the memorandum as public as I could.'"—(*Ibid.*, p 331 2) Sir Robert's "memorandum" bears no date, but it seems to contain ample internal evidence to demonstrate that it refers to the year 1804.

CHAPTER LX.

Interview between the King and the Prince of Wales — *Dissensions in the Royal Family* — Childhood of the Princess Charlotte of Wales — The King's anxiety to obtain the care of her person and education—Reconciliation between Pitt and Addington — Death of the Archbishop of Canterbury — Contest between the King and Pitt for the nomination of his successor.

THE negotiation for an interview between the King and the Prince of Wales, which had been interrupted by the departure of the Court for Weymouth, his Majesty, on his return to Windsor, was the first to re-open. It was a matter on which he perhaps would have been less eager, but that Pitt was anxious to secure the support of the "Prince's friends," and especially of the Earl of Moira, and the King was naturally desirous of strengthening the hands of his Minister.

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *November 7th*, 1804.

"The King authorizes his Lord Chancellor to acquaint the Prince of Wales that he is willing to receive the Prince at Kew in the manner proposed previous to his Majesty's going to Weymouth, which interview was prevented by the indisposition of the Prince of Wales. As soon as the King is apprised by the Lord Chancellor of the time the Prince of Wales will come from Brighton for that purpose, he will, through the same channel, name the day and hour for that meeting.

"GEORGE R." *

* Eldon MS. Original.

The Prince of Wales to Lord Eldon.

"BRIGHTON, *November 8th*, 1804

"The Prince of Wales without delay acknowledges the receipt of the Chancellor's letter, and will, in consequence of the gracious intention signified from his Majesty, be in London to-morrow evening with the Earl of Moira, who has just arrived at Brighthelmston The Earl of Moira is authorized by the Prince to wait upon the Chancellor at any hour on Saturday morning that his Lordship may please to appoint "*

The King to Lord Eldon

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *November 11th*, 1804

"The King has this morning received the Lord Chancellor's letter, and has great satisfaction in learning from it that the Earl of Moira has given the strongest assurances that the Prince of Wales has the most dutiful and affectionate sentiments towards his King and father

"The Lord Chancellor is to acquaint the Prince of Wales that his Majesty, and the Queen and rest of the family at Windsor, will be ready at Kew to receive him to-morrow at half-past twelve.

"GEORGE R "†

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *November 13th*, 1804.

"The King is so sensible of the attachment to his person of the Lord Chancellor, that he thinks it right to acquaint him that the interview yesterday at Kew was every way *decent*, and, as both parties avoided any subjects but those of the most trifling kind, certainly it has done no harm, and leaves it to the Prince of Wales's future conduct to show whether the sentiments, the Earl of Moira flatters himself to have found, are genuine

"The King takes this opportunity of communicating a letter he received yesterday from the Bishop of Exeter, on the intention of his brother to be candidate for the vacant Mastership of the Charter House His Majesty and the Queen have no votes at elections in that excellent institution, though they have a turn of nomination to scholars and old men on that foundation The King, at the

* Eldon MS. Original. † Ibid.

same time, sees no objection [to] authorizing his Lord Chancellor to communicate his approbation of Dr. Fisher's pretensions to stand forth on this occasion, as his Majesty [considers] no more proper candidate can appear, and that he is every way well qualified to fill the station with credit to those who will support him, as well as utility to the place of his earliest education.

"George R." *

Some of the particulars of the Prince's interview with his father were related by him to his friends. "The account," writes Pitt to Lord Eldon, on the 12th, "I have just had of the interview tallies in the main with that sent to you, but with the addition of great *lamentations* at having found the King so much *broken in all respects.* I find great efforts may be expected to be immediately made to prevent any further progress towards real reconciliation; but still, my informant thinks the disposition is favourable." † To Fox the Prince made a similarly unsatisfactory report of the apparent state of health in which he found the King. "There was no cordiality or pretended affection," writes Fox, "but common talk on weather, scandal, &c.—a great deal of the latter—and, *as the Prince thought*, very idle and foolish in the manner, and running wildly from topic to topic, though not absolutely incoherent. With respect to Lord Moira's meeting with Pitt, he said that Pitt had expressed a particular desire of having him, Moira, in the Cabinet, and a general wish to admit many of the Prince's friends. I rather think Moira, whom I saw separately, added hopes of time bringing about *all*." ‡

On this occasion, at least, the Prince's report of the state of his father's health was apparently not too unfavourable a one. Since the King's return from Weymouth his mind had at intervals shown itself to be still in an unsettled state,

* Partly printed in Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 472.

† Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 473.

‡ Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iv. p. 62.

and, although at Kew he seemed to be unusually cheerful and well, there were those about his person, who at times apprehended the worst that could befall him. His temper again became morose and irritable; the only members of his family with whom he consented to dine were alternately the Princesses Sophia and Amelia; and lastly, and most unhappily, he became completely estranged from the almost heart-broken wife, whose steadfast and watchful devotion had been his solace for nearly half a century. On no occasion, indeed, did he ever mention her name with disrespect: but strongly resenting, as far as we are able to discover, her interference on behalf of her eldest son, he treated her with a suspicion and distrust, which naturally occasioned her the deepest affliction. "*Possibly*," writes Lord Auckland, "a change may take place for the better, but it is more likely to be for the worse; and at any rate likely to overset the whole of that admiration of private goodness and exemplary temper in domestic life, which was very material to be preserved."* "It is a melancholy circumstance," writes Lord Hobart, "to see a family that had lived so well together for such a number of years completely broken up." The principal causes of the return of the King's disorder would seem to have been the excessive amount of mental as well as bodily labour which he imposed upon himself, a want of sufficient sleep, and certain painful dissensions, whatever they may have been, in the Royal Family. "Within the family," writes Lord Auckland, "are strange schisms, and cabals, and divisions among the sons and daughters." Every endeavour was made to induce the King to lie down and repose himself for two hours a-day, but without effect.†

* Letter from Lord Auckland to Lord Henley, dated Sept. [illegible] Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. pp. 213. The particulars contained in this letter Lord Auckland learned from the "very best authority," namely the King's confidential friend, Lord Liverpool.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. pp. [illegible]

Among other painful causes, which at this time kept the King and Queen asunder, appears to have been a constant dread on her part lest at any moment the King might be seized, in her presence, by a sudden and violent paroxysm of frenzy. "The Queen," writes Lord Colchester, "lives upon ill terms with the King. They never sleep or dine together." And again he writes—"The King is harassed by family disputes; the Queen persists in living entirely separate."* The Prince of Wales, who visited his father about the end of November, brought back but a gloomy report of the state of his mind. "He had found things at Windsor," writes Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Buckingham, "as bad as they had been represented;" the King, indeed, having "a power of restraining himself, and talking rationally for some time and on some points, but no day passing without much of a different description, and many points very prevalent in his mind of a character extremely irrational."† Not less distressing is the account bequeathed to us by Lord Malmesbury. "The Queen," he writes, "will never receive the King without one of the Princesses being present; never says in reply a word. Piques herself on this discreet silence, and, when in London, locks the door of her *white room*—her *boudoir*—against him. The behaviour of the Queen alarms me more than all the others of Mrs. Harcourt's stories. For if the Queen did not think the King likely to relapse, she would not alter in her manners towards him; and her having altered her manners proves that she thinks he may relapse."‡

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. pp. 528, 531. Lord Buckinghamshire writes about this time to Lord Auckland:—"By the little news I have been able to pick up in the course of this morning, I should imagine nothing can be more deplorable than the interior of a certain great house at Windsor; the whole family divided into parties, and everything going on as ill as possible."—*Auckland Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 220.

† Buckingham Papers, vol. iii. p. 381.

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 344.

The object which, of all others, the afflicted King at this period had most at heart, was to obtain, with the free will and consent of his eldest son, the care of the person and education of his grand-daughter and heir presumptive, the Princess Charlotte of Wales, at this time in the ninth year of her age. The child was in every respect a most interesting one. "Yesterday, the 6th of August," * writes the venerable Bishop Porteus, "I passed a very pleasant day at Shrewsbury House, near Shooter's Hill, the residence of the Princess Charlotte of Wales.† The day was fine, and the prospect extensive and beautiful, taking in a large reach of the Thames, which was covered with vessels of various sizes and descriptions. We saw a good deal of the young Princess. She is a most captivating and engaging child, and, considering the high station she may hereafter fill, a most interesting and important one. She repeated to me several of her hymns with great correctness and propriety; and, on being told that when she went to Southend, in Essex —as she afterwards did, for the benefit of sea-bathing— she would then be in my diocese, she fell down on her knees and begged my blessing. I gave it with all my heart, and with my earnest secret prayers to God that she might adorn her illustrious station with every Christian grace; and that, if ever she became the Queen of this truly great and glorious country, she might be the means of diffusing virtue, piety, and happiness, through every part of her dominions." ‡

Certainly, Carlton House, with its graceless society and tainted atmosphere, was no eligible residence for a maiden heiress to a throne; nor was the home of her repudiated

* 1801.

† At the time when Bishop Porteus wrote, the little Princess was residing in a separate establishment, presided over by Martha, Countess Dowager of Elgin, not far from her mother's villa at Blackheath. See *post*, p. 407.

‡ Life of Bishop Porteus, Works, vol. i. pp. 160-3.

and indiscreet mother much less open to objections. But it was not alone—to use the King's words—that he desired to see his grand-daughter brought up and "educated as a Queen that is to be." The interesting child had also entirely established herself in his affections. The King delighted in children, and, accordingly, it was unfortunate for his happiness that, of his own offspring, even the youngest and best beloved, the Princess Amelia, had sprung up to womanhood. Under these circumstances, the King's gratification may be readily conceived when, in the preceding month of July, he had received, through the Earl of Moira, a communication from the Prince of Wales, intimating that nothing could be more highly satisfactory to his Royal Highness than that the King should take the Princess Charlotte under his immediate charge. "Undoubtedly," writes the King to Lord Eldon on the 17th of that month, "the Prince of Wales's making the offer of having the dear little Charlotte's education and principles attended to, is the best earnest he can give of returning to a sense of what he owes to his father, and indeed to his country, and may to a degree mollify the feelings of an injured father; but it will require some reflection before the King can answer how soon he can bring himself to receive the publisher of his letters." * Thus, armed with the authority of the Prince, and little imagining that he would depart from his word, the King, previously to his departure for Weymouth, had given orders for a residence, close to the walls of Windsor Castle, to be prepared for the reception of the Princess, postponing further arrangements till after his intended return in November.

In the mean time the vacillating Prince—divided between the opposite counsels and exhortations of his friends, and especially of his female favourites—had

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. pp. 462-479. See *ante*, pp. 333, 334 note, 389.

begun to question the good policy of his recent
ceeding "The two factions," writes Lord Malmesb
"pulled the Prince of Wales different ways La
Moira, Hutchinson, and Mrs Fitzherbert were for
ceding the child to the King, the Duke of Clarence a
Devonshire House most violent against it, and the Prin
ever inclines to the faction he saw last In the Devo
shire House cabal, Lady Melbourne and Mrs Fox ac
conspicuous parts, so that the alternative for our future
Queen seems to be whether Mrs Fox or Mrs Fitzherbert
shall have the ascendency" * Lady Melbourne and Mrs
Fox carried the day. On the 19th of September Charles
Fox writes to Lord Grey "His [Lord Moira's] advice to
the Prince to offer the young Princess to the King was
certainly very bad, but I believe it was only folly, and
the Prince has, upon good pretences enough, done away
the offer completely Some accounts from Weymouth say
the King is very well, others the reverse My way of
reconciling them is, that he is better in health, but still
insane" †

Whether the Prince's "pretences" may have been good or bad, he might at least have had the consideration to communicate his altered intentions at once to the King, instead of keeping him in ignorance on the subject for more than two months, and then leaving him to learn the truth in a very humiliating manner

The King to Lord Eldon

'WINDSOR CASTLE, *December 16th*, 1804

"The King, though he has banished every spark of irritation
nd impatience, from feeling truth and fair dealing is the honour-

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv p 343. 'There is no lady in the Prince of
les's house writes Lord Liverpool, proper to have the care of his daughter
lady [Mrs. Fitzherbert] with whom he is most connected is highly improper on
y accounts, from the nature of her connexion with his Royal Highness and from
eligion."—*Auckland Correspondence* vol. iv p 2.5

† Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iv p. 60.

able line to combat misapprehension, chicane, and untruth, has with stoical indifference waited the arrival of some information from his Lord Chancellor. The letter from him states that at length the Earl of Moira is summoned to town; consequently a quicker progress is soon to be expected.

"The King will certainly be at the Queen's Palace on Wednesday, at two o'clock, when he trusts the Lord Chancellor will bring him a copy of the Earl of Moira's paper of last July, wherein it is expressly offered that the King shall have the sole and exclusive care of the person and education of his dear grand-daughter; to which the Lord Chancellor was authorized to declare that his Majesty, *in taking the superior direction, never intended to destroy the due inspection and parental rights of both parents.*

"GEORGE R." *

In the mean time, pending the arrival of Lord Moira in London, the Prince of Wales would seem to have acted a very extraordinary part; denying, for instance, at one time that he had ever entered into any engagement to consign his daughter to the care of the King, and, at another time, cruelly alleging, as an excuse for departing from that engagement, his father's intervening insanity. "The Prince, it is said," writes Lord Colchester, "sometimes denies, and sometimes admits that he had consented, but that it was *before he had seen the King* at Windsor." †

Happily, the arrival of Lord Moira in London, and his conscientious testimony to what had passed in the summer, went far to smooth prevailing difficulties and doubts. "The difference now existing," writes the King to the Chancellor on the 24th of December, "may be easily remedied by explanation, but they will not be surmounted without it." ‡ "As far," writes Lord Liverpool, "as the Prince's consent is of any importance, it was given at least five months ago in a letter from Lord Moira; and his Lord-

* Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. pp. 474-5.
† Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 531.
‡ Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 476.

ship acts fairly and honourably in avowing the transaction"* Eventually everything seems to have been arranged according to the King's wishes For instance, in the course of the month we find Lord Buckinghamshire writing to Lord Auckland that "everything is settled with the Prince concerning the Princess Charlotte,"† and, indeed, from the pen of the King himself we have a nearly similar intimation

The King to Lord Eldon

'WINDSOR CASTLE, *January 5th* 1805

"The King authorizes the Lord Chancellor to inform the Prince of Wales that he has received with satisfaction the answer to the paper which the Lord Chancellor sent to the Prince of Wales for his Majesty, and will in consequence proceed, with as little delay as the due consideration of so serious a concern requires, to state to the Prince through the same channel, for the Prince's consideration, the names of the persons that shall occur to his Majesty as most likely to suit the situations necessary for the care and instruction of his grand-daughter, the Princess Charlotte, who has every gift from nature to render her capable of profiting by that care and attention which may render her in future an honour to her family, and a blessing to those who, if it pleases the Almighty to preserve her life, must in a future day acknowledge her as their Sovereign"‡

Whatever, in the opinions of the Prince of Wales and Fox, may have been the general state of the King's reasoning powers at this time, neither of them, we conceive, could have framed a much more lucid and sensible document than the following rules which he drew up for the education of his beloved grand daughter. "The King," writes Lord Malmesbury, "sent his plan for the Princess in writing to the Prince by the Chancellor It was not only a very judicious and wise one,

* Auckland Correspondence vol. iv p. 22[illegible] † Ibid., vol. iv p. 230
‡ Eldon MS., partly original.

but drawn up most admirably, and full of fine and affectionate feelings."*

"The Prince of Wales having, through the Earl of Moira, expressed his wish that the education and care of the person of his daughter shall be placed under the immediate inspection of the King, his Majesty is willing to take this charge upon himself, and has prepared a house at Windsor for the reception of the Princess Charlotte. The sum now issued each quarter out of his Majesty's Civil List, for the maintenance and education of the young Princess, should in future be paid into the hands of the person who shall be named by the King to defray those expenses, and such additional charges as may arise from the change of establishment shall be defrayed by the King.

"His Majesty proposes to name a bishop to superintend Princess Charlotte's education, as it cannot be that alone of a female; but she, being the Presumptive Heir of the Crown, must have one of a more extended nature. His Majesty also thinks it desirable that the bishop should fix on a proper clergyman to instruct the young Princess in religion and Latin, and daily to read prayers. That there should be another instructor for history, geography, belles-lettres, and French, and masters for writing, music, and dancing. That the care and behaviour of the Princess should be entrusted to a governess; and, as she must be both day and night under the care of responsible persons, that a sub-governess and assistant sub-governess should be named.

"These seem to be necessary outlines to form such a plan as may make so promising a child turn out as it is the common interest of the King and his family—and, indeed, the whole nation—eagerly to wish. It may not be improper to add that the conduct of the Dowager,

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 343.

Countess of Elgin* has been so exemplary that, though her age and weak state of health may make her retiring necessary, the King will give her a pension equal to her present salary "†

In the mean time, a reconciliation had been effected between two statesmen who ought never to have quarrelled—Pitt and Addington Not only, at the time of Addington's removal from the Premiership, had he been greatly hurt and offended at being forced to make room for Pitt, but so late as the middle of November we find him spoken of as "more bitter than ever against the present Ministers "‡ He was, however, by nature of a placable disposition His old affection for Pitt had never entirely worn away, and lastly, his habits and inclinations led him to sigh for a return to office, even though he might never again be elevated to the high position which he had formerly occupied in the State No sooner, therefore, did there appear a prospect of Pitt departing a little from his stately exclusiveness, and making some slight advance towards a reconciliation, than Addington was evidently prepared to meet him half way He felt himself to be the "party injured," he told Lord Colchester, and could not therefore stoop to make the first overtures, but let Mr Pitt *only do him the most trifling justice*, let him but give utterance to a single genuine expression of remaining regard for him, and, though they could never again be the friends which they had formerly been, it would revive, in his own breast at least, much of the kindly feeling of former times §

At length, principally through the mediation of Lord Hawkesbury, it was arranged that a personal interview

* Martha, daughter of Thomas Whyte Esq, of London banker and widow of Charles Fifth Earl of Elgin. She died in 1813.

† Eldon MS. Original.

‡ Letter from Mr Grenville to the Marquis of Buckingham Nov 13th 1804.—*Buckingham Papers* vol. iii. p. 5[illegible]

§ Lord Colchester's Diaries vol. i. p 5[illegible]0

should take place between the rival statesmen. "I have seen the King to-day," writes Lord Hawkesbury to Addington on the 19th of December, "who has expressed, in the *strongest terms*, his personal gratification at the revival of intercourse which is likely to take place between yourself and Mr. Pitt. I am confident this event will of itself produce a very beneficial effect upon his health."* Accordingly, on an appointed day—Sunday the 23rd of December—the interview took place at Lord Hawkesbury's seat, Coombe Wood, situated about two miles from Addington's residence in Richmond Park, and about the same distance from Pitt's villa on Putney Heath. "I rejoice to take you by the hand again"—were Pitt's words, as he entered the apartment in which Addington was expecting him—and which Lord Hawkesbury immediately quitted in order to leave them alone together. The interview appears to have passed off in the most satisfactory manner.† "As far," writes Addington on the following day, "as a judgment can be formed from a conversation of three hours yesterday, and of an hour to-day, there is the fairest prospect of the renewal of old habits of intercourse and friendship. I must say," adds Addington, "that every part of Mr. Pitt's conduct, and every sentiment he uttered, convinced me that it is his ardent wish—as God knows it is mine—that past differences should be forgotten, and that our future conduct may manifest perfect coincidence of opinion, and the re-establishment of former intimacy."‡ Pitt, in a letter to his brother, Lord Chatham, dated the 25th, gives a similar satisfactory account of the interview.§

Although Pitt's chief object in courting a reconciliation with his early friend, was doubtless to enable him

* Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 329.
† Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. pp. 537, 538.
‡ Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 331
§ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. 238.

to strengthen his administration by a union with Addington and his political followers, it would be unfair to him to suppose that private feeling had no share in influencing his conduct It was, for instance, immediately after the reconciliation at Coombe Wood, that Wilberforce happening to call upon him, he induced him to take a stroll with him round the Park "I am sure," he said, "that you are glad to hear that Addington and I are one again" "And then," writes Wilberforce, "he added with a sweetness of manner which I shall never forget—'I think they are a little hard upon us in finding fault with our making it up again, when we have been friends from our childhood, and our fathers were so before us, while they say nothing to Grenville for uniting with Fox, though they have been fighting all their lives'" * "The reconciliation between Pitt and Addington," writes Mr Thomas Grenville, "must have been sudden, as I know that only two days before, upon Pitt touching his hat as he passed by Addington, Addington observed to Dyson, who was riding with him, that even *that* greeting was new to him" † The correctness of this rather interesting anecdote is corroborated by other authority "Respecting the reconciliation of Pitt and Addington," writes a contemporary, "Dyson told me that he was riding with the latter in Richmond Park, in December, 1804, when Pitt, passing, bowed to Addington As no exchange of civilities had for a long while subsisted between them, Addington expressed his surprise to Dyson This, however, was followed the next day by an intimation from Pitt of his desire of renewing their ancient friendship Addington relented, and they met the succeeding Sunday at Lord Hawkesbury's at dinner" ‡

The following letters denote how deep was the interest

* Life of Wilberforce, vol. iii. p. 211 † Buckingham Papers, vol. iii. p. 401

‡ MS. Journals of Colonel Henry Norton Wall, Comptroller of the Household to the Princess Charlotte of Wales.

taken by the King in the reconciliation of two individuals, for whom he not only entertained a personal regard, but by whose united efforts he trusted to be able to defend the royal closet from the forcible attacks of Fox and the Grenvilles.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WINDSOR, *December 18th*, 1804.

"The King cannot omit one moment, after reading the note of Mr. Pitt, to express his joy at seeing the very proper state of Mr. Pitt's mind, in suggesting a willingness to call forth the assistance of Mr. Addington and his friends to the support of Government. His Majesty has—from the first hour of meeting Mr. Pitt, the last spring, to engage him again into public life—intimated a desire of being the restorer of two friends to the state of affection, which would be most gratifying to his own feelings, as well as advantageous to the ease of carrying on the public business.

"The King cannot conclude without suggesting his long-formed, and, he believes, just opinion, that a pension for life, for his most upright and diligent discharge of the duties of Speaker of the House of Commons, is the true reward Mr. Addington should obtain, which would please the House of Commons, who have ever applied for such a provision in the case of his predecessors on retiring, who had not half his merit. And, in the present instance, it would flatter his Majesty's feeling, as the proposition cannot with propriety be brought forward but by a message from the Crown, and the motion to be made on it stated by Mr. Pitt, of whose services to the public none has been more predominant than the proposing Mr. Addington, then a young man, for Speaker of the House of Commons.

"G. R."*

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *December 25th*, 1804.

"The King, with many compliments of the season, sends with infinite pleasure the two letters he has received this morning

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv., Appendix, p. xx.

n Lord Hawkesbury and Mr Pitt, to his Lord Chancellor is reconciliation will give ease, and add much strength to his ajesty's Administration, at which no man will more sincerely joice than the Lord Chancellor

"GEORGE R. *

The King to Mr Pitt

WINDSOR, December 2[?]th 1804

"The King has received from Lord Hawkesbury the much-wished-for account of Mr Pitt having seen Mr Addington at Coombe Wood on Sunday, and that he is convinced their early habitudes of cordial affection are renewed This gives the King the more satisfaction, as he is fully satisfied that their personal attachment to him, and to this country, are the true causes of this most gratifying work

"His Majesty could not refrain from giving Mr Pitt this written testimony of his approbation, and has done the same to Mr Addington

"G R."†

The King to Mr Addington

WINDSOR CASTLE, December 2[?]th, 1804.

"The King has received from Lord Hawkesbury the much-wished for account of Mr Addington having met Mr Pitt at Coombe Wood on Sunday, and that he is convinced their early habitudes of cordial affection are renewed This gives the King the more satisfaction, as he is fully sensible that their personal attachment to him, and to their country, are the true causes of this most gratifying event

"His Majesty could not refrain from giving Mr Addington this written testimony of his approbation, and has done the same to Mr Pitt

"GEORGE R"‡

The King, as we learn from Lord Colchester, addresse a fourth letter on the occasion to Mrs Addington, whic in all probability, would be the most characteristic of a

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol i. p. 484.
† Stanhope's Life of Pitt vol iv Appendix xx
‡ [Life of Si]dmouth, vol. ii. p. 334.

This letter, however, if it exists, has not been selected by Dean Pellew for publication.

As Addington had now ceased to be in opposition to the Government, there could of course no longer be any objection to the King renewing his former friendly and social intercourse with him and his amiable family, and accordingly we find him taking a very early opportunity of repeating his unceremonious visits to Richmond Park.

Dec. 29. "On Saturday morning, at ten o'clock," writes Addington to his brother, "his Majesty came here alone, without previous notice, and stayed till twelve. It is hardly possible for me to convey to you a just idea of the satisfaction he manifested. He spoke of you with the greatest kindness, and brought some papers for my perusal, which he directed me to bring to Kew yesterday, Wednesday, at twelve o'clock. This I accordingly did, and stayed with his Majesty while he ate his dinner, to which he sat down rather before one."* Again, Addington writes to his brother, on the 29th—"I am just returned from Kew, where I passed an hour and a half with his Majesty, and partook of his dinner, which consisted of mutton-chops and pudding."†

1805. On the 12th of January, Addington was created Viscount Sidmouth, and on the 14th was sworn in as Lord President of the Privy Council. "I am glad," said the King, as he kissed hands, "to have you with me again."‡

On the 18th of January, 1805, died, after a protracted

* "Upon the Wednesday," writes Lord Colchester, "Mr. Addington went to Kew, where the King was dining, and commanded him, as he does any equerry, to be seated whilst the dinner was going on."—*Diaries*, vol. i. p. 539.

† Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 342, and *note*. It would appear by a letter from Horner to Sir James Mackintosh, dated the 19th of January following, that Addington a second time shared the King's homely fare at Kew:—"On the 7th instant Addington dined at Kew *tête-à-tête:* an honour not conferred on any subject since Lord Bute."—*Horner's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 281.

‡ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. i. p. 539. The following document, in the handwriting of George the Third, endorsed by him—"Draft of a Message to both Houses of Parliament for granting a pension for life to the R. H. Henry Addington"—

s, Dr John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury As
as more than conjectured by well informed persons
Pitt was bent on elevating to the primacy his old
r, and afterwards secretary, Dr Tomline, Bishop of
coln and Dean of St Paul s, and, on the other hand, as
was whispered that the King was no less anxious for
advancement of Dr Manners Sutton, Bishop of Nor
ich and Dean of Windsor, a good deal of interest as to
he result was excited among the friends of the rival pre
ates "Mr Pitt,' writes Bishop Tomline to Rose on the
3rd of December, "means to write fully upon the subject,
which he thinks better than conversation in the present
state of the King I am confident that he will do every
thing in his power short of absolute force * The King,
on the other hand, had, during his stay at Cuffnells ex
pressed his conviction to Rose that Pitt would throw no
difficulties in the way of the elevation of Dr Manners
Sutton Few persons, however, who knew the firmness of
Pitt s character, expected that he would prove so accommo
dating as the King imagined Nevertheless, the King suc
ceeded in gaining the day "If a Private Secretary of a First
Minister, he said, "is to be put at the head of the Church,
I shall have all my Bishops party men and politicians †
The circumstances under which Dr Sutton obtained the
Primacy have been variously related, but the true version
would seem to be contained in the following extract of a
letter from the Reverend C R Elrington to the late Mr

is preserved among the Eldon MSS. — The King is so fully impressed with the
diligence and ability which the Right Honourable Henry Addington has shown in
the discharge of the duties of Speaker of the House of Commons for twelve years and
of his handsomely coming forward three years ago to support his King and country
when attempts were harboured of the most dangerous tendency to the existence of ou
excellent Church Establishment that his Majesty cannot doubt but the House o
Commons will enable his Majesty to settle on the said Right Honourable Henr
Addington the same pension for life which has been given to former Speakers of th
House of Commons such pension only to take effect when he shall hold no lucrati
office under the Crown."—*Eldon MS.* Original. No date.

* Rose s Diaries vol ii p. 8

† Lord Malmesbury s Diaries, vol. iv p. 353

Croker. The writer especially refers to a passage in Sir Nathaniel Wraxall's 'Posthumous Memoirs,' which work had recently been severely handled in the 'Quarterly Review.'* "It requires no great sagacity to discover who is the author of the article on *Sir N. Rascall.*†. There is some truth in his story of Pitt's opposition to the appointment of Archbishop Sutton, but he has spoiled it.‡ It was a favourite story with Primate Stuart,‡ who, by the bye, did not love the Premier more than Sir Nathaniel. The King received a message from Pitt that Archbishop Moore was dead, and that he would wait upon his Majesty the next morning. The King, suspecting the cause, ordered his horse, and rode over to Bishop Sutton, then residing at Windsor. He found he was at dinner with some friends, and sent in the servant to say a gentleman wished to speak to him. The Bishop said immediately he could not go; but something in the servant's manner made him change his determination. When he came out, he found the King standing in a little dressing-room, near the hall door. The King took him by both hands. 'My Lord Archbishop of Canterbury [he said], I wish you joy. Not a word: go back to your guests.' On Pitt's arrival the next day, the King said to him he was sure he would be glad to have an opportunity of providing for a most deserving friend and relative. 'A friend, indeed,' said Pitt, 'but your Majesty is mistaken as to there being any relationship.' The King, not minding him, lashed on: 'And then it is such a good thing for his twelve children.' This was quite too much for the Premier, and he said, 'Bishop Pretyman I am certainly most anxious to promote;§ but he is not my rela-

* *See* Wraxall's 'Posthumous Memoirs of his own Time,' vol. ii. p. 232, and 'Quarterly Review,' vol. lvii. p. 444, &c.

† A name given by the late George Selwyn to Sir Nathaniel Wraxall. The latter was returned to Parliament by Selwyn for his borough of Luggershall.

‡ See *ante*, p. 230, *note*.

§ Bishop Pretyman had changed his name to Tomline, on coming into the possession of some valuable estates in Lincolnshire, in 1803.

tive, nor has he such a family.' 'Pho! Pho!' said the King, 'it is not Pretyman whom I mean, but Sutton.' 'I should hope,' said Pitt, 'that the talents and literary eminence—' 'It can't be, it can't be, I have already wished Sutton joy, and he must go to Canterbury.'"* Pitt, it seems, was exceedingly angry at having been overreached by the King Lord Sidmouth told Dean Milman that he believed such strong language had rarely ever passed between a Sovereign and his Minister †

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WINDSOR, *June 31st*, 1805.

"The King, on receiving Mr. Pitt's note, has directed Lord Hawkesbury to have the necessary instruments prepared for translating the Bishop of Norwich to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The Bishopric of Norwich is worth 3200*l* per annum, therefore, may prove an agreeable transition to those of the less valuable Sees" ‡

* Croker MS. Original. † Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv p 2.2.
‡ Ibid., vol. iv, Appendix, p xxi.

CHAPTER LXI.

The King in high health and spirits — Installation of the Knights of the Garter at Windsor — Death of the Earl of Rosslyn — Death of the King's brother, the Duke of Gloucester — Proceedings against Lord Melville in Parliament — Pitt's distress of mind on the occasion — Decay of the King's eyesight — Secession of Lord Sidmouth from Pitt's Ministry — Friendly parting between them — The King's old friend, Mrs. Howe — Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope.

WITH the departure of the year 1804 appear to have gradually passed away that depression of spirits and those bodily ailments by which the King had been for so many months periodically afflicted. Moreover, he had fewer causes to distress him than previously to his illness. He had succeeded in strengthening a Government which was agreeable to him. He was on as good terms with his eldest son as he was ever likely to be; and lastly, he was gratified beyond measure at having secured the guardianship of his interesting grand-daughter, the Princess Charlotte. Under these circumstances Windsor Castle once more became the occasional scene of gaiety, and even of splendour. On the 25th of February the King gratified the younger Princesses by giving a magnificent ball to four hundred guests, among whom were the Princess Charlotte, and eighty Eton boys, whom the good-natured King had himself gone to Eton to invite to the Castle, and who, by his orders, were regaled in the Presence Chamber. The next day the Queen gave a morning fête in the gardens at Frogmore.

But a far more splendid show, of which Windsor Castle was at this period the scene, was an Installation of the Knights of the Order of the Garter, which took place on St. George's Day, the 23rd of April, 1805. The day, which happened to be a very beautiful one, was ushered in by the merry ringing of bells, and the rapid arrival of splendid equipages; while the town of Windsor, crowded as it was with military, and with persons in rich dresses, had seldom presented so picturesque an appearance. One painful incident alone—indicating as it did to the public, that in a season of unusual excitement the King's reason was still subject to partial derangement—tended, as will presently be perceived, to prevent the complete success of the ceremonial. In the mean time, we may introduce the following interesting MS. sketch from the pen of, perhaps, one of the very few survivors of those who played a part in the pageantry of the day:—

"Holding a situation in his Majesty's household, I was summoned to be at the Castle the day before the Installation. On driving up to the Castle, a paper was put into my hands, stating where I was to lodge, and that a dinner would be provided for me at the Castle the day of my arrival, the day of the Installation, and the following day; so minutely had the King arranged everything for the comfort of his attendants.

"As my services were only required in the evening, at the banquet in St. George's Hall, I accepted an invitation to breakfast at the Deanery, and afterwards to see the ceremony in the Chapel. I accordingly repaired to the Deanery at nine o'clock, in full court dress, and was afterwards well seated in the Queen's closet, close to the altar, from which there is a good view of the whole of the Chapel. At about half-past ten the Queen, the Princesses, and the Princess of Wales took their places on a raised platform, by the side of the altar, opposite the royal closet;

with them numerous attendants, all gorgeously attired, and sparkling with diamonds. The Knights of the Garter occupied their respective stalls, in their purple robes, and caps with large plumes of feathers. The Knights elect, of whom there were several, sat below them. At eleven the organ struck up; the doors were opened, and the King entered, followed by the Prince of Wales and the other Princes of the blood, including the Duke of Gloucester and his son Prince William, and their attendants. Never shall I forget the consternation, if not the horror, which the sight of the King produced. He too wore the purple robe and the plumed cap, but he had on his head an enormous, well-powdered, flowing wig, such as we may see in some old pictures as worn by the Lord Chancellors and Judges of those days. The ends of the wig flowed down his shoulders, and nearly covered his chest. This, added to an unusually red and anxious face, gave an immediate impression that nothing but insanity could have led to the King appearing as he then did. Quitting his stall, the King proceeded to the altar, bowing three times as he went up to it. There he made the usual offering, and retired. He was followed by the Prince of Wales, who had in the morning declared his repugnance to be made a puppet in his father's show. His bows were anxiously watched, and graceful they were. The most perfect silence prevailed while he advanced to the altar, and where his feelings could not have been of the most pleasant kind, in the presence of his repudiated wife.

"The scene in St. George's Hall was most splendid and imposing. The royal table was raised on a dais, at the head of which the King sat, still in his flowing wig. The Prince of Wales was on his right-hand. Each member of the Royal Family was waited upon by a Knight of the Bath, and each Knight of the Bath by a young nobleman in a fancy dress. The Prince of Wales looked exhausted and

of spirits, nor did he exchange one word with the ng during the whole of the banquet. As soon as the ince was seated, he asked Sir Joseph Banks, who was hind his chair, for a tumbler of claret. It was brought, ut I heard Sir Joseph whisper to him that it was a part f the ceremony that no one should drink till the herald ad proclaimed the first toast. He therefore declined the tempting cup, much as he appeared to need it. At length the trumpet sounded, a toast was given, and wine was drunk *ad libitum* afterwards.

"Down the hall, on the right-hand side of the throne, a table was prepared for the whole of the Knights of the Garter then present, at which they sat in their robes and plumed hats, with their backs to the wall. On the opposite side was a raised gallery, the whole length of the hall, in which the Queen and Princesses sat, and a goodly company of ladies in full court dresses. On the lower tier I remember that the celebrated Duchess of Gordon and Mr. Pitt sat together. The whole scene was of extraordinary brilliancy and interest, and such as probably will never occur again in this country. It was nearly dark when the King retired from the throne. The only 'take-off' was the King's wig and his very excited state of mind; and it was generally asserted at Windsor on the day of Installation, that the Queen had not only used all her influence to induce the King not to appear in this monstrous wig, but, when this had failed, had gone down on her knees to implore him to alter his resolution; but, as we have seen, without success.* It is painful to attend the King through his different attacks of mental

* This was not the first occasion on which the King had appeared in public in th eccentric head gear. Alluding to the opening of Parliament on the 15th of Januar 1805, Horner, on the 19th, writes to Sir James Mackintosh :—"While the King is efficient as at present we shall have the satisfaction of seeing things go on in their usu course, though he did make his gracious speech from the Throne in one of the flowing Brigadier wigs, which one sees in the old portraits of King William and Ma borough."—*Horner's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 283.

aberration. Rather let us see him following his stag-hounds along his hundred miles of green drives in Windsor Forest, now, alas! broken up, although perhaps one of the finest appanages to a royal residence in the world. Let us see him talking kindly and familiarly with his farm-labourers, or entering their cottages, and sending them some present which might add to their comfort. Let us see him in the evening reading Shakespeare to the Queen and his daughters, and then retiring to rest with a mind conscious of no wrong, but, on the contrary, replete with kind, good, and benevolent feelings."

As the King was now in his sixty-seventh year, it was only to be expected that persons for whom he either entertained a personal regard, or who had been intimately associated with him in the political occurrences of his chequered reign, should begin to drop more frequently into the grave. On the 2nd of January, 1805, died the Earl of Rosslyn—more familiarly known as Alexander Wedderburn, and afterwards as Lord Loughborough—who, for some time past, had fixed his abode in the neighbourhood of Windsor. No one could be better acquainted than the King with the true character of that intriguing, though accomplished man; yet, as the ex-Chancellor was not only his near neighbour, but as he was also endowed with a cultivated mind, and with courtly accomplishments, it was natural that the King should receive him, whether at his own concerts at the Castle, or at the Queen's parties at Frogmore, as a welcome guest. It was on this precarious evidence of royal favour, that Lord Rosslyn, though nearly in his seventy-third year, is said to have still nourished hopes of being reinstated on the woolsack. "He was laid on the shelf," writes Lord Brougham, "and, as his last move, he retired to a villa remarkable for its want of all beauty and all comforts,* but recommended by its near neigh-

* Baylis, near Slough.

rhood to Windsor Castle, where the former Chancellor s seen dancing a ridiculous attendance upon royalty, noticed by the object of his suit, and marked only by jeering and motley crowd that frequented the Terrace or three years he lived in this state of public neglect, ithout the virtue to employ his remaining faculties in his ountry's service by Parliamentary attendance, or the nanliness to use them for his own protection and aggrandizement" *

On the last day of the year 1804, Lord Rosslyn had attended a party given by the Queen at Frogmore, at which he appeared to be in excellent spirits, and where he remained till a late hour Two days afterwards, while seated at table, he was suddenly seized with gout in his stomach, his head dropped on one side, he never spoke afterwards, and in a few hours was no more When the news of his death was carried to Windsor Castle, the King, having so recently seen the assiduous courtier in apparently the best health, and in excellent spirits, could scarcely realise to himself the fact of his dissolution, and accordingly resolved on questioning the messenger himself "Are you quite sure," he asked, "that his lordship is really dead?" The messenger having at length satisfied him on the point—"Then," he said, "he has not left a greater knave behind him in my dominions" † When this anecdote was related to Lord Thurlow, he manifested in a very characteristic manner his twofold dislike to the King and to the late Earl "Then," he said with an oath—"I presume that his Majesty is quite sane at present" ‡

Four months after the death of Lord Rosslyn, died

* Historical Sketches of Statesmen &c., vol. i. p 181. Edition 1853.

† Ibid vol. i. p 181 Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. vi. p 33[illegible] and note Lord Campbell observes, and I concur with him that this story seems to rest on undoubted authority I have myself heard it from several persons who were in public life at the time. —Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt vol. iv p 2[illegible]1.

‡ Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. vi. p. [illegible]31.

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* Historical Sketches of Statesmen &c. vol. i. p 181. Edition 1843.

† Ibid vol. i. p 181 Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. vi. p. 33

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‡ Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. vi. p 331

creasing decay of the King's sight, his Speech from the throne, at the commencement of the Session of 1805, was the last which he ever delivered personally in Parliament, and also, that, to enable him to read it with the greater facility, it was printed All the subsequent Speeches from the throne till the Regency in 1811, were delivered by Commission *

The Duke of Kent to Lord Eldon

[*Extract.*]

KENSINGTON PALACE
'*Saturday Morning Feb 9th* 1805.

"*The King* is *my* object, to stand by *him* at *all* times my first duty and my inclination, and I think I cannot prove this more strongly than by pledging myself, as I did when first I received my peerage, spontaneously, always to support his servants where my feeble voice could be of use. I have ever acted up to this profession, and I ever will But it is not my system to attend Parliament otherwise, therefore I solicit to be informed by your Lordship when I am wanted, that I may not *then* be absent Having said this, I now beg leave to add, that as the King remains at Windsor till Tuesday, the 19th instant, it is my wish to be a couple of days with him in that time, and I therefore am anxious to learn from your Lordship if I shall be wanted in the course of the next week, and on what days, so as not to be from here on such as you shall name "†

The King to Lord Eldon

WINDSOR CASTLE, *Feb* 18*th* 1805.

"The King authorizes the Lord Chancellor to acquaint the Prince of Wales, that his Majesty has this morning received notice of Mrs Campbell's acceptance of her nomination as sub-governess of his dearly beloved grand-daughter, the Princess Charlotte, thus completing the most necessary attendants on the young Princess The King approves of the Baroness de Clifford taking the charge of the Princess, whenever it shall be most agreeable to the Prince of Wales She will then be a better judge of the requisites necessary in the lady she may recommend as assistant sub-governess,

* Sir George C Lewis's Administrations of Great Britain, p. 311, *note.*
† Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 488.

who must be of sufficient birth to appear with the young Princess in the absence of Mrs. Campbell.

"The Earl of Dartmouth has very handsomely consented to regulate the expenses of the young Princess's establishment.

"GEORGE R."*

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *Feb.* 25*th*, 1805.

"The King is much pleased with the attention of his Lord Chancellor in acquainting him with the result of a conversation with the Earl of Moira, who certainly could not sanction the language held by the Prince of Wales to Lady de Clifford; and his Majesty, when he sees the Lord Chancellor on Thursday, will bring the question, in the coolest and smoothest manner, forward. Indeed it is quite charming to see the Princess and her child together, of which I have been since yesterday a witness; and I must add that Lady de Clifford's conduct is most proper, and will also be highly conducive to her meeting with my approbation.

"The Lord Chancellor's business is full excuse for his non-appearance this morning; but the King could not allow that any festivity should be under his roof to which the Chancellor is not invited.

"GEORGE R." †

The King to Lord Eldon.

"*March* 1*st*, 1805.

"The preparations for establishing the Princess Charlotte at Windsor are now in such forwardness that the King can authorize the Lord Chancellor to acquaint the Prince of Wales that her apartments will be completely ready for her reception in two weeks, and that he shall then give notice to Lady de Clifford for her removal to that place.

"From what he has seen of his dear grand-daughter, in the few days he has been there, he doubts not but that, with the proper attention of those now placed to superintend her education, and the upright conduct in all situations of the governess who is to have the care of her, she will prove a blessing to her relations, and an honour to her native country.

"GEORGE R."‡

* Eldon MS. Original. † Ibid. Partly original. ‡ Ibid. Original.

The King to Lord Eldon
[*Extract*]

March 10th 1805

"His Majesty must either have the whole care and superintendence of the person and education of the Princess Charlotte, or entirely decline any interference or expense By this he by no means proposes to interfere with her visiting both the Prince and Princess of Wales when they require it, and will for that purpose fix her the next winter at Kensington for that season, that the Prince and Princess may with less inconvenience visit her, or send for her at that season to their respective houses But Windsor will be her residence for the greatest part of the year, where she will have the advantage of excellent air and a retired garden, which will enable her quietly and with effect to pursue her studies, which certainly as yet have been but little attended to The Lord Chancellor is desired to take a copy for the King of this returned paper of instructions, and prepare the paper to be transmitted to the Prince of Wales, who certainly means further chicane

"GEORGE R *

One or two of the following letters from the King will be found to refer to the celebrated charges brought forward in the House of Commons, on the 6th of April, by Mr Whitbread, against Lord Melville, for having, while Treasurer of the Navy, connived at a system of peculation on the part of his deputy, Mr Alexander Trotter, and also of malversation on his own part On the 8th, a vote of censure was carried against Lord Melville by the casting vote of the Speaker On the following day he resigned his appointment of First Lord of the Admiralty His name was subsequently ordered to be struck off the list of Privy Councillors, and on the 25th of June the Commons passed a vote for his impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanours

The King to Mr Pitt

WINDSOR, *April 19th* 1805.

"The King, though much grieved at the cause, is not unmindful of the great propriety of Mr Pitt in acquainting him

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 4..

instantly of the fate of the motion of censure on Lord Melville for having suffered Mr. Trotter to derive benefit from balances of the public money. His Majesty trusts that in Lord Melville there has been no culpability, though there has been a great want of caution; and, in truth, the letter of exculpation he has lately published has not much mended the appearance.

"His Majesty would not act as ingenuously in return if he did not mention the names that at the moment occur to him as worthy consideration as heads of the Board of Admiralty—the Earl of Chatham, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Yorke—and, if a professional man, Lord Gardner.* But the King means to be totally unbiassed, to receive the names of any one of these, or any other person whom Mr. Pitt, on due consideration, may think best suited to support his Administration.

"G. R."†

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *April 21st*, 1805.

"The King is by no means desirous of not giving the Lord Chancellor full time to consider the proper mode of placing his dearly-beloved grand-daughter under his especial care, though not wishing, if it can be avoided, to infringe on the rights of either of her parents.

"His Majesty,—at the same time that he should have thought the appearance of the Lord Chancellor a considerable ornament at the ensuing Installation,—yet he thinks it of much greater consequence that the Lord Chancellor should shake off the remains of gout, to be the better able to meet the warm debates that will be forwarded in the House of Lords, but which certainly will be of little avail.‡

"GEORGE R."§

* The Minister's choice fell, not on any one of those persons, but on an octogenarian Admiral, Sir Charles Middleton, created, on the 27th of April, 1805, Baron Barham, of Barham Court, and Teston, Kent. His exact age appears to be uncertain, but as he received his lieutenant's commission sixty years previously, in the middle of the reign of George the Second, he must, of course, have been tolerably advanced in years. The Prince of Wales told Lord Colchester (*Diaries*, vol. i. p. 557) that he was eighty-two. Lord Barham held the appointment of First Lord of the Admiralty from the 30th April, 1805, till February, 1806, and survived till the 17th of June, 1813.

† Earl Chatham's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. xxii., Appendix.

‡ The King evidently alludes to Lord Grenville's intended motion in the House of Lords, on the subject of the Irish Catholic claims. The motion was brought forward on the 10th of May, and was rejected by 178 votes against 49.

§ Eldon MS. Original.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WINDSOR, *April 22nd*, 1805.

"The King, from the moment of the unfortunate necessity of Lord Melville's resigning his seat at the Board of Admiralty, had no object but that Mr. Pitt should recommend as successor the person best qualified to supply the vacancy. As Mr. Pitt, on the whole, thinks Sir Charles Middleton answers that description, his Majesty will not object to it, nor to his being advanced to the rank of a baron, but his attending Cabinet meetings ought to be confined to subjects regarding the Navy.

"At the same time, the King thinks that it would be advisable, on this addition to the peerage, to advance also Mr Lygon, the member for the county of Worcester,* whose excellent character, steady support of Government, and very large fortune, place him in a situation without just competitor.

"G R"†

The King to the Marchioness of Sligo ‡

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *April 28th* 1805.

"The King desires the Marchioness of Sligo, if she finds a proper opportunity, to express to his invaluable friend, Mrs. Howe, the regret with which he has heard of her severe attack on the lungs, but as the account of yesterday was so much better than the former days, he greatly trusts that her known sense and resolution, added to great strength of constitution, will restore her health, and enable her to pursue her amusements as prior to this attack, and that he shall most sincerely rejoice at hearing her, with her usual vivacity, call to her assistance her favourite *bishop*. His Majesty will be most anxious for the further account, expected by his dear daughter Princess Amelia, this evening

"GEORGE R"§

* William Lygon for thirty years M.P for the county of Worcester On the 26th of February 1806 six weeks after Mr Pitt's death he was created Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, and on the 1st of December, 1815, Viscount Elmley and Earl Beauchamp. He died the 21st of October, 1816.

† Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv, Appendix p xxiii.

‡ Louisa Katherine, daughter of Admiral Earl Howe and wife of John Denis, First Marquis of Sligo. She married secondly William Scott Lord Stowell, and died in 1817

§ MS. Original.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

[*Extract.*]

"WINDSOR, *May* 5*th*, 1805.

"Though the King is much hurt at the virulence against Lord Melville,* which is unbecoming the character of Englishmen, who naturally, when a man is fallen, are too noble to pursue their blows, he must feel the prudence and good temper of Mr. Pitt's proposing his being struck out of the Privy Council; and it is hoped, after that, the subject will be buried in oblivion.†

"G. R."

The following note evinces the King's continued and determined opposition to the relief of the Irish Roman Catholic grievances. On the 13th of May, a motion which Fox had brought forward on the subject was defeated in the House of Commons by 336 votes against 124. It was acknowledged by Pitt that he was still in favour of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics; still, so long, he said, as the King and the popular feeling remained opposed to the measure, he should resist its being carried through the House, and deprecate its being agitated.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"KEW, *May* 15*th*, 1805.

"The King is most extremely rejoiced at the great majority with which Mr. Fox's motion for a committee on the Catholic petition has been rejected, and he trusts that such decided majorities in both Houses of Parliament so strongly show the sense of

* "The transactions relative to Lord Melville," writes Lord Malmesbury, "exceeded in party spirit and savage feeling all that I ever recollect in this country. Admitting his guilt to its full extent (which I am far from doing) what can be said to the huzzas and shouts of the House of Commons upon his condemnation; Sir Thomas Mostyn giving a *view-hollo*, and a '*We have killed the Fox*'? What would these very men have said to the judges and jury had they behaved thus at the sentence of the most bloodthirsty felon? Disgraceful and un-English!"—*Diaries*, vol. iv. p. 346. When Lord Henley walked into Brooks's the day after the vote of censure had passed the House of Commons, he found the members, as he writes to Lord Auckland, "*ivres de joie.*"—*Auckland Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 232.

† Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv., Appendix, p. xxv.

the kingdom on this most essential question,—which his Majesty is convinced, if the opinions of the people without doors could be known, would prove a still larger majority on this occasion,—that he trusts it will never be brought forward again

"G R" *

The King to Mr Pitt

'June 12th 1805.

"The King has great satisfaction in having just learnt from Mr Pitt the appearance of the House of Commons yesterday on Mr Whitbread's motion for impeaching Lord Melville, and on the amendment of Mr Bond for a prosecution in lieu of it, both of which, he thinks, can most justly be resisted No one more sincerely blames the incorrectness of Lord Melville's conduct, but no one can be more adverse to any further measures being taken against him All that is necessary for example to futurity has been done, and anything more is a wanton punishing of a fallen man, which is not the usual conduct of an Englishman, who never strikes his enemy when at his feet.

"G R"†

Lord Melville, in the course of his political career, had more than once given offence to the King, who accordingly manifested but little sympathy for him, when informed of his arraignment by the House of Commons "Is that all?" he calmly inquired, "I wonder how he slept after it Bring my horse"‡ Very different, however, had been the feelings of Pitt during the protracted and uncertain proceedings against his friend and colleague Not only was Lord Melville's impeachment likely to break up his Administration, but he and Pitt had fought together too often in the same ranks against the same unsparing foes, and had been too long and too intimately associated as boon companions and personal friends, not to render the fate of that friend and colleague a matter of deep personal as well as political interest to Pitt Moreover, impaired

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv, Appendix, p. xxvi
† Ibid. vol. iv Appendix, p. xxvi.
‡ Auckland Correspondence vol. iv p 233, note.

health, and the toils and harass of office, had begun to produce their baneful effect upon the nerves of the great statesman, and to render him much less capable, than he had formerly been, of supporting a heavy calamity like the present. As an instance of this painful alteration, his friend Wilberforce mentions the deep impression made upon him by Pitt's look and manner, when, on calling upon him in Downing Street, he saw his friend's eye glance for the first time over the tenth report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, containing the charges of corruption against Lord Melville. "I shall never forget," writes Wilberforce, "the way in which he seized it, and how eagerly he looked into the leaves, without waiting even to cut them open."* Those, too, who happened to note the expression of his countenance in the House of Commons, at the moment when the casting vote of the Speaker carried the day against Lord Melville, were equally struck with the intensity of feeling which he betrayed. "I have ever thought," writes Lord Fitzharris,† "that an aiding cause of Pitt's death, certainly one that tended to shorten his existence, was the result of the proceedings against his old friend and colleague Lord Melville. I sat wedged close to Pitt himself the night we were left 216 to 216, and the Speaker, Abbot, after looking as white as a sheet, and pausing for ten minutes, gave the casting vote *against* us. Pitt immediately put on the little cocked hat that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and jammed it deeply over his forehead; and *I distinctly saw the tears trickling down his cheeks.*"‡ Lastly, not less painful to witness was his agitation when, on the 6th of May, on Mr. Whitbread's motion for an Address to the King to

* Life of Wilberforce, vol. iii. pp. 217, 218.
† Afterwards second Earl of Malmesbury.
‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 255, *note.*

remove the name of Lord Melville from the list of his Majesty's Privy Councillors, the great Minister rose from his seat in the House of Commons, and, anticipating the hostile intentions of the House, intimated that the object of the honourable gentleman had already been accomplished, inasmuch as he had felt it his duty to recommend to his Majesty the erasure of the name of the late First Lord of the Admiralty from the list of Privy Councillors He added, however, with much emotion—and he did but echo the generous sentiments of the King—"I confess, and I am not ashamed to confess it, that whatever may be my deference to the House of Commons, and however anxious I may be to accede to their wishes, I certainly felt a deep and bitter *pang* in being compelled to be the instrument of rendering still more severe the punishment of the noble lord" It was related to the late Lord Macaulay by several persons who were present on this occasion, that at this moment Pitt could with the greatest difficulty suppress the poignant emotion by which he was oppressed "As he uttered the word *pang* his lip quivered, his voice shook, he paused, and his hearers thought that he was about to burst into tears He suppressed his emotion, however, and proceeded with his usual majestic self possession"*

In the mean time, a blow of a different and of a more distressing character was awaiting the King So late as the middle of April he might have been seen—apparently in excellent health and spirits—proceeding on horseback to the meet of the royal staghounds, yet, before the commencement of July the sentence of blindness was virtually passed upon him, it being found necessary to break to him that a cataract had formed over one of his eyes, and that a second cataract was in process of forming over the other

* Lord Macaulay's Memoir of Pitt, Biographica, p. 2[illegible], Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv p. 29[illegible].

To one whose habits were so active as were those of George the Third, such an announcement must have occasioned many a bitter pang; and yet, as Lord Colchester informs us, and as we shall find substantiated by the following letters, he bore the painful intelligence with the most perfect composure and religious fortitude."*

The Duke of York to Lord Eldon.

"My dear Lord, "Horse Guards, *July 3rd*, 1805.

"I am this moment favoured with your Lordship's letter, and lose no time in returning you many thanks for your obliging attention to my recommendation in appointing Mr. Dowdeswell a Commissioner of Bankrupts.

"I am fully persuaded that your Lordship participates in our affliction at the heavy calamity with which his Majesty is visited. I need not, I am sure, mention to your Lordship the firmness of mind, meekness, and resignation with which he bears it. Your Lordship and I know his Majesty well; but I am certain his worst enemy must pity and admire him upon the present most trying occasion.

"Believe me ever, my dear Lord,
"Yours most sincerely,
"Frederick."†

From Lord Colchester's Diaries we glean some further interesting particulars respecting the melancholy progress of the King's affliction. "Sir Joseph Banks," writes the Speaker, on the 4th of July, "saw the King to-day at Kew. A cataract is completely formed in one eye, of which he has lost the use for some weeks past. He has no direct vision with the other eye, but can see downwards to distinguish what he walks upon. He knows persons at the distance of three or four yards. He has not been able to read a word for some time, but can sign as usual with great clearness and steadiness."‡

The King, previously to his eyesight having become

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 14.
† Eldon MS. Original.
‡ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 14.

worse, had proposed making a summer tour in the middle counties, anticipating with peculiar gratification a visit to his old friend Bishop Hurd, at Hartlebury Castle. This project, however, was now prevented, and accordingly, on the 5th of July, Lord Hawkesbury, by the King's desire, addressed a letter to the Bishop, in which he communicated his Majesty's "deep regret" at being compelled to proceed to Weymouth direct. "I am sure," he adds, "your Lordship will have particular satisfaction in hearing that the King has borne this *last calamity*, with which it has pleased Providence to afflict him, with all the fortitude and resignation which you so well know belongs to his character; that his spirits are cheerful, and that his general health has in no respect been impaired. We must all look forward with the greatest anxiety to the progress of the complaint. The medical persons who attend the King appear to be confident of the success of the operation, though they seem to think it will be some time before it would be prudent to attempt it."*

It could scarcely have been with any other object than that of affording gratification to the venerable Prelate, that the King, five days afterwards, took up his pen, and wrote himself to him as follows:—

The King to the Bishop of Worcester

WINDSOR CASTLE, *July 10th*, 1805.

"The King being prevented by a complaint in his eyes from the great pleasure of visiting the Bishop of Worcester, on which he had placed the greatest satisfaction, though Lord Loughborough† has written to explain the cause of this disappointment, yet his Majesty thinks that a scrawl from himself may be satisfactory to the good Bishop, when continuing a promise that, should the Almighty permit the evil to be removed, the visit will be performed next summer.

"The King cannot conclude without expressing his hopes then

* Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. [illegible]

† Query Lord Hawkesbury?

to find his excellent friend in as good health as he has now reason to think is the case. His Majesty has collected some books for the library at Hartlebury Castle, and will order them to be sent to Worcester.

"GEORGE R."*

"TO THE LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER,
"*Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire.*"

An untoward circumstance, which at this time occasioned great distress to the King, was the secession of Lord Sidmouth from the Ministry, a step which could scarcely fail to entail upon the Government almost insurmountable difficulties. The new Viscount, by nature sensitive and punctilious, was unable, with all his good sense and sterling qualities, to forget that he had once been First Minister of the Crown; and consequently he was inclined to exact a deference, and to claim a right of interference in the administration of public affairs, to which the haughty nature of Pitt was very little disposed to submit. Already, even so soon after their reconciliation as the month of April, an open rupture had very nearly taken place between them. Pitt, as we have seen, had obtained the King's consent to Sir Charles Middleton being placed at the head of the Board of Admiralty; whereas Lord Sidmouth was anxious that the appointment should be conferred, either upon the Earl of Buckinghamshire, one of the Secretaries of State, or else upon some other person at present in office, in order to make room in the Government for one or more of his own family connexions. Disappointed in obtaining this concession from Pitt, his annoyance appears to have been very great. "I deplore," he writes to him on the 22nd of April, "the choice you have made. It will, I fear, have the effect of weakening and lowering the Government at a time when it is peculiarly important to give it additional

* Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. 522.

strength, and to raise its character To me it is decisive proof that my continuance in office could neither be useful to the public nor honourable to myself"* "I must prepare for the *fête* at Frogmore," he writes to his brother, on the 25th "My reflections when there will be uncomfortable The gaieties will soon be over, and God knows what will follow †

Once more, however, the two Ministers became friends, and friends they might possibly have remained but for the unpardonable offence given to Pitt by Lord Sidmouth's relatives voting in Parliament for the impeachment and prosecution of Lord Melville A caricature by Gillray, published at the time, represents Lord Melville as the "wounded lion" in the fable, lying helpless on the ground, with some jackasses on the point of attacking him "Very highly indebted to the lion, Brother Hiley," exclaims one jackass "Then," says another, "kick him again, Brother Bragge" Such an "appearance of hostility and defiance" on the part of Lord Sidmouth's friends, must, as Pitt plainly intimated to their leader, prevent him for the present "placing them in high situations,"‡ and accordingly the latter, thus unambiguously apprised of his want of influence, not only came to the determination of separating himself from the Administration, but, a few days afterwards, entered the royal closet after the King had held a Privy Council, and formally resigned July 4. his appointment as its President The King, though much hurt, if not offended, at his conduct in thus risking the existence of the Government, nevertheless treated him with a kindness§ to which the ex Minister made a somewhat ungracious return Happening, on his way home

* Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. [illegible] † Ibid. p. 361

‡ Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. pp. [illegible] "It was necessary," said Pitt, "that their conduct should be [illegible] marked" — an expression which seems to have given great offence to Lord Sidmouth.—Ibid. [illegible] Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. [illegible]

§ Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 235 Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. [illegible]

from the Palace, to encounter Sheridan, who, as the personal friend of the Prince of Walès, and a violent Opposition leader, was the last person to whom any important change in the Cabinet ought to have been communicated, he not only imparted to him the fact of his resignation, but intimated, somewhat pompously perhaps, that he was at liberty to divulge it to the Prince. Unfortunately for him, his officiousness had the double effect of occasioning great annoyance to the King, and of eliciting for him anything but thanks from the heir to the throne. "What," said the Prince, "does the d——d insignificant puppy mean by troubling me?"* "As to Lord Sidmouth," writes Lord Henley, "he is, to make use of a vulgar phrase, quite 'done up,' and deservedly, for there is much of folly, not to give it a stronger appellation, in his communication to Sheridan, and irreverence to the good King in the business."† "The Doctor," writes Fox to Lord Holland, on the 6th of July, "has chosen a bad time for his resignation, as Pitt can certainly go on without him while Parliament is not sitting, and by these means gains time for all sorts of negotiation. That all these negotiations will fail, *I* am sure; but the Doctor could not be so, and therefore his folly in this, as in everything else, is beyond all ordinary conception."‡ It should be mentioned, in justice to the King, that on the occasion of this second rupture taking place between his two favourite Ministers, he declined, notwithstanding the deep importance which it was to him to keep the

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 241.

† Ibid., p. 243. It should be mentioned that this was not the first occasion of Lord Sidmouth's having given similar offence to his Sovereign. At the time that the negotiation for Pitt's return to power was being carried on, in 1801—he himself being the King's confidential Minister at the time—he was weak and ill-advised enough to tell his friends that "he knew his Majesty did not wish Mr. Pitt to come in." So displeased was the King at the time, that, as he afterwards told Rose, he had made up his mind, in the event of the negotiation with Pitt breaking off, at all events not to retain Addington at the head of the Government.—*Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 156, 157.

‡ Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iv. pp. 86, 87.

present Administration in power, to throw his weight into the scale on either side? "You and Mr Pitt," was his simple reply to Lord Sidmouth, when the latter attempted to make him a referee in the business, "ought to talk over matters together, and not have any go betweens"*

The farewell interview between the King and Lord Sidmouth took place at Windsor, on Sunday, July the 7th In the mean time, Lord Sidmouth's conduct, in not only abandoning the Government at a time of national peril, but in volunteering to make a confidential communication to the King's political enemies, had very naturally had the effect of incensing his Majesty against him No doubt, when Addington told his friends that at his interview in the royal closet, on the 7th, the King had not only "spoken to him in the most gracious manner," but had "peremptorily urged the making a provision" for him,† he stated no more than what were facts Nevertheless, that the King neither felt nor expressed such complete approval of Addington's conduct, as Addington would apparently have had his friends believe, there is ample evidence for inferring "When he went to the King," writes Lord Malmesbury, "Addington very foolishly offered his Majesty the key of the Council box 'You must not give it to me,' said the King, rather offended, 'but to Lord Hawkesbury' 'Sir,' replied Addington, 'I am not on speaking terms with Lord Hawkesbury' 'This is nothing to me,' said the King, and would have ended the audience"‡ The prosy ex Minister, however—incapable apparently of taking the hint—persevered in forcing his conversation upon the King for more than an hour longer Never since the days of George Grenville, said the King to Mr George Villiers,§ had he been tormented by so fatiguing an interview.

* Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth vol. ii. pp. [illegible] 370 Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 13.

† Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 1[illegible]

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv p. 346.

§ Father of the present Earl of Clarendon.

Three days ago, he added, Addington had thought proper to communicate to Sheridan the fact of his retirement, and surely therefore he might have spared *him* the worry of two hours' conversation on the subject.* "That ——" he exclaimed, on rejoining his family, "had been plaguing him to death."† Nevertheless, "fatigued and displeased" as the King is described as having been, he was happily able, on making his appearance on the Terrace in the afternoon, to conceal his feelings from his subjects. "We learned," writes Lord Henley, "that Lord Sidmouth had had a very long audience. What had passed was not even conjectured, and certainly no conjecture could be formed from the King's face, for he was in very good and even spirits. Lord Sidmouth did not appear on the Terrace."‡ Fox, however, appears to have been better informed as to the true state of the King's feelings. "I am told," he writes on the 8th, "that though the King seemed to bear everything very composedly at first, he has since shown many symptoms of flurry and agitation."§ "In all this business," writes the King's well-informed neighbour Lord Henley, on the 11th, "very little regard has been paid to the poor King's feelings, which, at the moment of the most cruel visitation with which human nature can be afflicted, all those who love him must more particularly feel. He was evidently affected last night, and all the family was low. The Princess Charlotte by her endearments had wrought upon his feelings, and he spoke of her with much tenderness. He had seen Phipps‖ at six

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 242.

† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 346. "The King complained that Lord Sidmouth had in his last audience tired him for two hours. The King has told Mr. Pitt that he will stand or fall with Mr. Pitt."—*Lord Colchester's Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 16, 17.

‡ Auckland Corresp. vol. iv. p. 233.

§ Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iv. p. 94.

‖ The eminent oculist, afterwards known as Sir Wathen Waller, Bart. He married 13th September, 1812, Sophia Charlotte, Baroness Howe in her own right, daughter and heiress of Admiral Earl Howe, and widow of the Hon. Penn Assheton Curzon, eldest son of Assheton, first Viscount Curzon.

o'clock, and a gentleman whom he had lately couched of both eyes at an interval of three weeks, and with perfect success. I was sorry to see the King with a glass of a very near-sighted man; for though it enables him to distinguish objects, yet it must fatigue his eyes. Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, of the Duke of York's office, is to attend him as Secretary, to assist him in reading, &c."* It has already been mentioned, on the direct authority of Colonel, or rather Sir Herbert, Taylor, that this was the first occasion of the King having employed a Private Secretary †

Happily the political connexion between Addington and Pitt closed in a more satisfactory manner to both of them than might have been expected At a meeting which took place between them on the 6th of July, at Pitt's villa on Putney Heath, scarcely more than six months before the death of the great Minister, they parted not only on friendly, but on affectionate terms "Has there been anything in my conduct at any time," asked Lord Sidmouth, "inconsistent with what was due to a friend?" "Never," was Pitt's reply; at the same time, with tears standing in his eyes, taking the other's hand. "I have nothing to acknowledge from you but the most generous and honourable conduct, and I grieve that we are to part."‡ When, at the end of September, Lord Sidmouth happened to be borne down by family affliction and bodily disease, Pitt paid him a visit at his Lodge in Richmond Park, where the two friends once more met and parted

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv pp. 242, 243. "The King's eyes," writes Lord *Colchester on the 10th, "are proceeding regularly towards the formation of complete* cataracts, and they are expected to be fit for the operation in about three months. Mr Pitt has recommended Colonel Herbert Taylor, the Duke of York's Military Secretary, to be confidential person employed in reading dispatches to the King, and writing for him during his blindness."—*Lord Colchester's Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 16.

† Remarks on No. CXXXV of the 'Edinburgh Review,' by Lieutenant-General Sir H Taylor G C B, p. 3 London, 1838

‡ Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. pp 272, 273, and note.

in kindness. It was destined that they should never meet again.*

On the 12th of July the Court quitted Windsor for Weymouth, from which place the earlier accounts of the King's condition proved to be sufficiently gloomy. "I have just seen two letters from Weymouth," writes Lord Henley, on the 23rd: "the first says that on Thursday the King had a considerable degree of inflammation in his eyes, which had a little abated the two following days; that however, he still rode out, though only a foot-pace, and immediately preceded by a groom; and went to the play, which hitherto was not crowded or hot; that Phipps had arrived on the Sunday, and had said that the inflammation might produce much good or much evil; that he had applied leeches, and said that he would remain with his Majesty till the inflammation was removed, and, in short, as long as his presence could be of any use. The letter concludes by saying, 'the King is very low; so are we all.' The other letter contains only two lines, saying leeches have been applied, and with success, and the King is easier. All this is very disheartening. The weather at Weymouth was deplorably bad."†

Notwithstanding the foregoing unsatisfactory account, the King had not been long at Weymouth before not only his spirits, but his eyesight also, greatly improved. Accordingly, again we find him enjoying his walks on the Esplanade; again, with his natural, cheerful unaffectedness, conversing with the company in the Assembly Rooms; again, making yacht excursions on the sea, or reviewing the troops on land. The birthday of his beloved daughter, the Princess Amelia, on the 7th of August, enabled him to confer pleasure upon others besides his family and himself. On that day he entertained a bril-

* Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. pp. 392, 393; Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 346.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. pp. 244-5.

hant company at the principal hotel at Weymouth, and though he was himself not present at the banquet, he received and welcomed his guests at a ball given by the Queen in the evening When Pitt returned from Weymouth to London, about the middle of September, he told the Speaker of the House of Commons that, during the twenty years that he had been acquainted with the King, he had never known him in so "settled and composed a state of mind" *

The next few lines are probably the last ever addressed by the King to his old, and now venerable favourite, Mrs. Howe She lived, however, for several years longer, beloved and respected by a large circle of friends. In Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century'† there is an interesting description of her, in 1814, as "a very extraordinary woman, born in 1720, and still living in Grafton Street, who, though deaf, still talks, reads, writes, and plays at cards, at ninety three, with all the spirit and life of a girl, dresses in powdered hair, triple ruffles, furbelowed gowns, and is a fine model of the costume of the old Court" Mrs Howe died June the 29th, 1814.

The King to the Honourable Mrs Howe.

'ROYAL SOVEREIGN, OFF PORTLAND, *July*, 1805.

"The King takes up his pen to acquaint Mrs. Howe that he certainly sees better than he did some days past, and begins to flatter himself that with time he shall regain perfect sight.

"GEORGE R." ‡

To the Bishop of Worcester also the King writes on the 10th of the following month—"No one ever experienced

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 20. † Vol. ix. p. 527

‡ Barrow's Life of Earl Howe, p. 397 The original is there stated to have been 'written evidently while vision was yet very imperfect," and, indeed, to be scarcely legible.

a more striking instance of the protection of Divine Providence than I have done. The cataract was first formed in the left eye, and much advanced in the right one, but, by an unexpected inflammation in the left eye, this had dispelled the apparent mischief in that eye; and that in the other also diminished, so that Mr. Phipps seems sanguine that he will effect a cure. Did I not feel, my good Lord, how you interest yourself, I should not have been so particular on this occasion."*

The next letter contains an interesting reference to the successful, but at this time most secret, project of capturing the colony of the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch. A
July 10. few days previously to the date of it, Lord Castlereagh had been appointed Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"WEYMOUTH, *July 24th*, 1805.

"The King most cordially approves of the proposal of attempting the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the intended Commanders of the Fleet and Army; and sees so forcibly the advantage of no delay, that he authorizes Lord Castlereagh, should the Cabinet approve of the idea, that not an hour be lost in putting the execution of it into effect.

"GEORGE R."†

The expedition against the Cape of Good Hope—consisting of a military force of five thousand men, under Major-General Sir David Baird, and a naval squadron, under Admiral Sir Home Popham—sailed from England in the month of August, 1805, and arrived off the Cape on the 4th of January, 1806. On the 8th of that month the British force encountered the Dutch, and forced them to betake themselves to a precipitate retreat. Subsequently the Dutch Governor, General Janssens, stipulated to sur-

* Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. 522.

† MS. Original.

render the whole of the colony and its dependencies, as well as all the rights of the Batavian Government, to his Britannic Majesty, on condition of the Dutch forces being carried back to Holland at the expense of the British Government, without the reproach of being regarded as prisoners of war *

The King to Viscount Castlereagh

WEYMOUTH *August 22 d 180.*

"The King is grieved to find that Lord Castlereagh has thought it expedient, from the very unfair conduct of his opponents, to decline any further contest, but fully approves of the decision he has taken His Majesty is much pleased that the expedition under the command of Sir David Baird is to meet with no further delay

"GEORGE R" †

The King to Viscount Castlereagh

WEYMOUTH *September 13th 180*

"The King by no means objects to the instructions to be sent to the Marquis Cornwallis‡ and Sir David Baird, though—having much attachment to the idea of the Cape remaining a British Possession—[he] hopes the necessity will not occur of being obliged to abandon it for succouring the forces in the East Indies

"As to active operations from hence this autumn, his Majesty is not sanguine Without prior arrangements for collecting horses and magazines on the Continent, he sees no means of subsisting any troops that may be desired for such service

"GEORGE R" §

The next letter is apparently the last written by the King to another venerable friend, Bishop Hurd —

* Life of Sir David Baird, vol. ii. p. 81 &c. London 18.. Castlereagh Correspondence vol. vi. p. 1.3. † MS. Original.

‡ Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis Governor-General of India, died on the 5th of the following month at Cawnpoor, in Benares. § MS. Original.

The King to the Bishop of Worcester.

"MY GOOD LORD, "WEYMOUTH, *September 5th*, 1805.

"Though in want of newspaper intelligence, from my knowledge of the propriety of the Archbishop of Canterbury, I give faith to his having visited the great ornament of Emmanuel College [Bishop Hurd], whilst residing at Cheltenham. This makes me desirous of hearing what impression he has made. I flatter myself a good one; not doubting, if better known there, my choice would meet with approbation, as he has on all public occasions shown himself equal to his situation.

"I have every reason to flatter myself that my sight is improving; yet I fear this specimen will not prove the assertion, as you, my good Lord, might expect.* The gain can be but gradual; objects growing brighter, though not as yet much clearer. In all situations,

"Believe me ever, my good Lord,
"Yours most affectionately,
"GEORGE R.†

"TO THE LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER,
"*Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire.*"

On the 4th of October the King and the Royal Family returned from Weymouth to Windsor.

* On the 15th of this month the King concludes a letter to Mr. Pitt—"His Majesty's sight will not allow him to add more, as, though he gains some ground, he can neither read what is written to him nor what he writes." "A great change of handwriting," observes Lord Stanhope, "appears in this letter and all those of subsequent date. It has grown much larger, and the characters are very indistinct and ill-formed." *Life of Pitt*, vol. iv., Appendix, p. xxvii., and *note*.

† Bentley's Miscellany, vol. xxvi. p. 523.

CHAPTER LXII.

The King's mental and bodily health—His grief at the death of Nelson—Habits and tastes of Queen Charlotte—Rejects Pitt's advice to admit Lord Grenville and Fox into the Cabinet—Capitulation of Ulm and battle of Austerlitz—Pitt's deep distress at the success of Napoleon's arms—Pitt's last illness and death—Parliamentary vote for defraying his debts—His funeral—Feelings of Lord Grenville and Fox on receiving intelligence of his death.

The King's health, bodily as well as mental, had unquestionably benefited by his visit to Weymouth. Though occasionally subjected to depression of spirits caused by the uncertain and sometimes alarming state of his eyesight, he is reported to have been, generally speaking, "well in body and in mind."* "Our good King," writes Lord Henley to Lord Auckland on the 1st of November, "continues, mind and body, sight excepted, better than I have seen him for years. I forgot to tell you that he plays at Commerce without any further assistance than he derives from his spectacles. He was last night in good spirits, that he had nearly got rid of his cold without its having affected his eyes, and was cheerful; in short was himself. He talked much of Mack,† of whom he thinks as I do. This morning I met him in the Park, at ten o'clock, and rode with him till a quarter past one. He was cheerful, and we had more than one of his hearty laughs, which I have not heard before for some time. He talked to me, indeed,

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 248.

† Alluding to the celebrated capitulation of General Mack, at Ulm, on the 17th of October, by which 30,000 Austrians laid down their arms to the French.

in an affecting manner, of his situation, saying that he had tried this morning, but in vain, to read the docket of one of the despatches, but is convinced that he perceives an amendment, and that even with the left eye he can perceive the light. Lady Henley says that he presented the muffins to the ladies last night in his old jocose and good-humoured manner." *

As the King's sight became more and more impaired, his letters to his correspondents naturally became fewer and fewer. He was enabled at times, however, to take up his pen, and the excellent use which he made of it may be seen by his correspondence.

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"KEW, *October 16th*, 1805.

"The King highly approves of the proposal of sending five thousand British infantry with the infantry of the German Legion to the Elbe; as also the light regiment of dragoons of that legion, under the command of Lieutenant-General Don, who is very properly to proceed in the first instance to Berlin, and, on his return to the Elbe, to order the disembarkation of the troops if there is no objection to that taking effect.†

"A good proportion of arms and ammunition ought to be sent with this corps, to arm the Hanoverians that will certainly flock to our standard.

"As to the proposed attempt on the Boulogne flotilla, his Majesty does not place much expectation of success;‡ though,

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. pp. 251, 252.

† The King alludes to the well-known expedition to the North of Germany, planned by Pitt and Lord Castlereagh, which it was hoped would have the double effect of recovering Hanover from the French, and making a diversion in favour of the Austrians. It was commanded in the first instance by General Don, and afterwards by Lord Cathcart. It was in this expedition that the late Duke of Wellington first commanded a brigade.

‡ The King evidently alludes to a favourite project on which Mr. Pitt was intent, and in which he seems to have been supported by Lord Castlereagh, for destroying the French flotilla at Boulogne. "I still entertain considerable hopes," writes Pitt to Castlereagh, on the 6th of October, "of something effectual being done by the rockets, and I trust you will not have had much further difficulty in overcoming the objections both of Lord Keith and the Admiralty. Your answer to Lord Barham places the subject exactly in the true light."—Earl Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. iv. p. 337.

if it be attempted with prudence, no great risk may be run, and if successful the event will be most salutary

"GEORGE R *

The King to Lord Eldon

KEW *October 22nd* 1805.

"The King is so thoroughly acquainted with the uniform political conduct of Mr Alderman Shaw, that he cannot have the smallest objection to authorize the Lord Chancellor to give his fullest approbation to the City election of the Lord Mayor for the ensuing year

"GEORGE R †

The following letter is doubly interesting, as being apparently the last which the King ever addressed to Mr Pitt, and from its reference to the recent glorious victory and death of Nelson at Trafalgar

The King to Mr Pitt

WINDSOR, *November 11th*, 1805

"The King cannot refrain from just expressing to Mr Pitt the joy he feels at the good news now forwarded to him of the capture of four of the line-of-battle ships that had escaped on the 21st of last month

"His Majesty has just received from Lord Hawkesbury an extract of Lord Nelson's Will concerning his funeral, which has enabled directions to be given for his being buried at St Paul's with military honours, which the brilliancy of the victory seems to call for

'GEORGE R '‡

The mingled feelings of gratification and sorrow with which the King received the intelligence of the battle of

* MS. Original. † Ibid.

‡ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv Appendix p. xxvii. Lord Nelson's Will contains no directions as to the disposal of his remains in the event of his dying abroad. "First in the event that I shall die in England, I direct my executors hereinafter named (unless his Majesty shall signify it to be his pleasure that my body shall be interred elsewhere) to cause my body to be interred in the parish church of Burnham Thorpe in the county of Norfolk, near the remains of my deceased father and mother and in as private a manner as may be"—*La* [illegible] Sir N. H. Nicolas *Despatches and* L[illegible] *of Lord Nelson* vol. vii Addenda, p. ccxxi.

Trafalgar—gratification at the great victory which had been won, and sorrow at the loss of Nelson—are shown by two interesting private letters, which, by the King's command, Sir Herbert Taylor addressed to William Marsden, Secretary of the Admiralty. "However," writes Sir Herbert, from Windsor Castle, on the 6th of November, "his Majesty rejoices at the signal success of his gallant fleet, he has not heard without expressions of very deep regret the death of its valuable and distinguished commander, although, he added, that a life so replete with glory, and marked by a rapid succession of such meritorious services and exertions, could not have ended more gloriously. I have not upon any occasion seen his Majesty more affected." And again, Sir Herbert writes on the following day—"Every tribute of praise, appears to his Majesty due to Lord Nelson, whose loss he can never sufficiently regret."*

The King to the Cabinet.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *November 27th*, 1805.

"The King should not do justice to his Ministers, if he did not trust that they have duly considered the very strong measure they are now recommending; but as he has by fatal experience seen former expeditions fail from being too hastily undertaken, he cannot but state that it occurs to him that, in the present much exhausted state of his Electorate it will be impossible to find provision for so large an augmentation to the force now [leaving?] there, and that without . . . . .† it will be impossible for the forces to proceed from thence, and that, till the French are driven from Hamelen, my Electorate is in a most dangerous situation, if the British and Russians leave that country to such a friend as Prussia, or an enemy as France.

"These ideas make me wish the measure may be [calmly] examined before final orders are given for an embarcation at so late a period of the year. But, should means be found to dispel these

* Brief Memoir of William Marsden, F.R.S., written by himself, p. 117. Privately printed.

† The words, which are omitted here, were illegible in the King's letter.

difficulties, the King cannot but think Lord Cathcart a very proper person to command such an expedition

"GEORGE R" *

The King to Viscount Castlereagh

"WINDSOR CASTLE, November 30th, 1805

"The King has just been informed of Lord Castlereagh's note, forwarding the bulletin from the Tyrol It is impossible, even at so early a date, not recurring to the Austrian vapour that the fall of Vienna should not oblige their making terms with the French His Majesty hopes no British money will be forwarded to these ignominious Courts

"The idea of sending any corps to Holland is quite out of the question After this fatal event, nothing can move from here to that quarter It must be seen what part Russia and Prussia will pursue If they have common prudence they will cordially join, and, in the spring, attack France and her new ally

"GEORGE R" †

Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor to Lord Castlereagh

"WINDSOR, December 20th 1805

"I have had the honour of laying before his Majesty the various papers which accompanied your Lordship's letter on the subject of the late events in Moravia, for the communication of which I am commanded to return you many thanks His Majesty considers them extremely interesting, and as all tending to confirm the reports, transmitted yesterday, of the successful result of the arduous contest of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th instant" ‡

The King to Lord Eldon.

"December 20th, 1805.

"The King, on consideration, thinks that the Lord Chancellor may not have kept a copy of the extraordinary paper he has transmitted to his Majesty, therefore has had a copy made for the use of the Lord Chancellor. His Majesty has not the smallest idea

* MS. Original.

† Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv, Appendix p. xxvii. ‡ Ibid.

...t of a great victory having been obtained over the French near Austerlitz, but proved to be without foundation.

...L. III.

of what, it is supposed, is well known by the Lord Chancellor, but thinks no notice should be taken till the arrival of Lord Moira. The King fears that the unhappy delay of many months has given rise to this fresh chicane.

"GEORGE R."*

The King to Lord Castlereagh.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *December 27th*, 1805.

"The King consents to Lord Castlereagh's proposal that Sir John Anstruther be permitted to resign his seat on the Bench at Calcutta, and receive the pension allowed after having held that situation seven years. Sir Henry Russell to succeed him, and Sir William Burrowes to succeed the latter.

"GEORGE R."†

The King to the Cabinet.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *January 14th*, 1806.

"The King directed Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor to state, in a confidential letter, his Majesty's sentiments, on the fullest consideration, of the present dilemma in which his own and his family's interest in Germany are placed by the untoward events that have arisen in Germany; and in consequence of which he has already sent orders to Count Munster by no means to enter into any negotiation with Prussia; and as his Majesty decidedly thinks that his dominions being in the hands of an open enemy is less dangerous than in those of a false friend, therefore he by no means calls on his British Ministers for an opinion, and . . . . .

"GEORGE R."‡

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, *January 31st*, 1806.

"The King is sensible of Mr. Cooke's ability and merits both in the employment he has held in the Colonial Department, as also in Ireland, and consents to the provision proposed.

"GEORGE R."§

* Eldon MS. Original.

† MS. Original.

‡ MS. Original. "The whole of this letter shows that his Majesty's sight was very much impaired. The last two or three lines are almost illegible."—MS. note by Mr. Croker.

§ MS. Original.

It was towards the close of the year 1805 that Miss Cornelia Knight, the accomplished authoress of some interesting autobiographical memoirs, and of other literary works, became attached to the person of Queen Charlotte, and an inmate of the Palace.* "In December," writes Miss Knight, "I became a resident at Windsor. The unmarried Princesses, who were still at home, were very kind and gracious to me. The Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge were often at the Castle in the evening, but the Dukes of York and Clarence seldom, if ever, slept there. The Queen had her ladies and those of the Princesses to dine with her, and the King came in at the dessert, for he dined at an early hour. The aides-de-camp and other gentlemen on service dined at the Upper Lodge. It is difficult to form an idea of a more domestic family in any rank of life, or a house in which the visitors, for those on duty were considered as such, were treated with greater attention. The Queen used often to call for me between ten and eleven on her way to Frogmore, where she liked to spend her mornings. She was fond of reading aloud, either in French or English, and I had my work.† Her library there was well furnished with books in those languages and in German, and she was so good as to give me a key, with permission to take home any that I liked. Sometimes we walked in the gardens of that pleasant

* Miss Knight, the daughter of Admiral Sir Joseph Knight, was born about the year 1757. She was the authoress of 'Dinarbas,' in the style of Johnson's 'Rasselas,' published in 1790, of 'Marcus Flaminius,' a classical novel published in 1792, and which reached a second edition in 1808; and 'A Description of Latium, or La Campagna di Roma,' with etchings by the author, which appeared in 1805. Miss Knight died at Paris, in December, 1837, in the eighty first year of her age.—*Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight*, Introduction, pp. vi. viii. and x. Some time after she entered the service of Queen Charlotte, Miss Knight became Sub-Governess, or, as she preferred to style herself, "Lady Companion" to the Princess Charlotte of Wales.

† Miss Burney mentions an occasion of her entering the Queen's apartment at Windsor, when her Majesty was engaged in reading some religious work to the Princesses. "I was glad," she writes, "of this opportunity of witnessing the maternal piety with which she enforced, in voice and expression, every sentence that contained any lesson that might be useful to her royal daughters. She reads extremely well, with great force, clearness, and meaning."—*Madame D'Arblay's Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 57.

place, Princess Elizabeth being usually of our party, and not unfrequently Princess Mary. The Princesses Augusta and Sophia rode with the King. The Princess Elizabeth had a pretty cottage and garden at Old Windsor, where she would sometimes in summer give little fêtes. It was at Frogmore that the Queen generally celebrated the birthdays of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, as they were both born in August; while Princess Elizabeth did the same for the Duke of Clarence's birthday, which was also in that month. And in November the Queen gave a fête for those of the Princesses Augusta and Sophia."*

It may be mentioned that Queen Charlotte's taste for literature led to her establishing a private printing-press at Frogmore, at which, however, only two complete works appear to have been printed. The first, which consists of a small octavo volume of one hundred and eleven pages, is entitled 'Translations from the German, in Prose and Verse,' the contents being entirely of a religious character, consisting of prayers, meditations, and hymns. The volume is inscribed, "The Gift of the Queen to her beloved Daughters, Charlotte-Augusta-Matilda, Augusta-Sophia, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sophia; and with her permission dedicated to their Royal Highnesses by Ellis-Constantia Knight." The other volume, a foolscap quarto of ninety pages, is simply entitled 'Miscellaneous Poems,' and consists chiefly of a selection of fugitive pieces. They were both printed in 1812. When the Queen, it is said, first intimated to her librarian her intention of setting up a printing-press, he informed her that it would be necessary to have it registered. "Well," she replied, "let it be so; but I believe there is no danger of our being sent to Reading Gaol for printing libels."†

* Miss Knight's Autobiography, vol. i. pp. 170, 171.

† Watkins's Memoirs of Queen Charlotte, pp. 500, 501.

In the mean time Pitt had been exerting himself to strengthen his Administration, which had been very inconveniently weakened by the defection of Lord Sidmouth and his friends. With the view of effecting that object, he was still as desirous as he had formerly been of admitting Fox to a share of power, and accordingly, on Tuesday, the 17th of September, he paid a visit to the King at Weymouth, in hopes of finding him less incensed against his old political antagonist. It was the opinion of the King, however, that the Government, as at present constituted, might be carried on quite as well, and with much more respectability, than if he consented to a coalition which he alike regarded as an unnatural one, and as fraught with danger to the State. When, therefore, Pitt quitted the royal presence, after an audience which lasted for three hours, and which he was afraid to prolong lest it might have an injurious effect upon the King's health, it was with the mortification of knowing that his errand had been an idle one.*

A few days afterwards, Sunday the 22nd, the King related to Rose what had taken place on the Tuesday. "I went on the Esplanade early in the morning," writes Rose, "and at a quarter past seven the King came there, accompanied by Colonel Taylor, who, on the King calling me to him, left us. His Majesty then told me that Mr. Pitt had made very strong representations to him of the necessity of strengthening his Government by the accession of persons from the parties of Lord Grenville and Fox, but that he was persuaded there existed no necessity whatever for such a junction; that we did very well in the last Session, and he was confident we should not be worse in the ensuing one." He was determined, he said, not to take a single person of the Oppo-

* Essays on the Administrations of Great Britain, by Sir G. C. Lewis, p. 260, *note*.

sition into the Administration. "I could not," he added, "trust them, and they could have no confidence in me."* Under these circumstances, no choice was left to Pitt but to encounter Parliament in his present weak and embarrassed condition.

Unhappily, the war policy pursued by Pitt during his second Administration proved to be as barren of great results as it had been during his former tenure of the Premiership. True it is that he had succeeded in opposing to the ambition of Napoleon, and to the formidable resources of France, a grand combination of the Northern Powers of Europe.† In the vault of, and over the ashes of the great Frederick, the Czar of Russia and the King of Prussia had sworn to accomplish the liberation of Germany. Already Russia, Austria, and Sweden had united with Great Britain in what promised to be an overwhelming coalition, while the further active accession of Prussia was expected immediately to follow. It was Pitt's ill-fortune, however, to be matched against a master-spirit whose intellectual powers, and whose never-failing resources, were far more transcendent than his own. Thus the grand conception of the British Minister, instead of arresting the headlong career of Napoleon as Pitt had fondly contemplated, produced the directly contrary result of enabling him to crush his enemies, and to construct an empire more extensive than that of Charlemagne. No sooner, for instance, were the intentions of the Allies discovered by the French Emperor, than he at once perceived the vast importance of attacking the enemy before the armies of Russia and Austria could form a junction; and before Prussia could make her appearance on the

* *Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 198, &c.

† *It would almost appear as if the King was the original projector of this famous scheme.—See Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 176, 177.

. of action. Accordingly, masking with admirable
se his intended operations, he suddenly broke up the
at army which he had collected on the shores opposite
gland, and advanced his veteran legions by forced and
id marches to the borders of Germany Then fol-
wed that memorable series of masterly operations which
as crowned by the capitulation of General Mack at Ulm,
nd by the terrible and crushing defeat of the Russian
nd Austrian armies at Austerlitz The continent of
Europe may be said to have lain at Napoleon's feet

The signal failure of Pitt's momentous projects, and the consequent triumph of the enemies of his country, sank deeply into his heart As one piece of bad news continued to arrive after another, it became plainly visible to his friends how baneful was the effect which they produced upon a constitution not naturally strong, and upon a frame which, for some time past, had been subjected to periodical attacks of illness Thus, so early as the 31st of March, 1805, we find his friend, Lord Harrowby, expressing his regret at hearing of his "coughing and looking ill," and pressing him to avail himself of a "bed-room, dressing-cabinet, and parlour, all on the ground-floor," at the Earl's hospitable seat, Sandon Hall.* Again, on the 2nd of July we find him unable to keep an appointment with Lord Sidmouth, in consequence of his having been confined to the house "by a violent cold and rheumatism;"† and, lastly, on the 28th of August, Fox, in a rather remarkable passage, alludes to the altered appearance of his rival "I hear," he writes to Lord Grey, "that, to those who casually see him, hi[s] appearance is just as it was in the house of Commons—"A[s] that of extreme uneasiness and almost misery."‡

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv p. 3[..].
† Pellew's Life of Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 371.
‡ Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iv p. 10[.].

who passed him in the Park," writes Lord Macaulay; "all who had interviews with him in Downing-street, saw misery written in his face."*

Thus was the stricken Minister suffering in mind and body when, at the beginning of November, the startling tidings of Mack's capitulation at Ulm reached London. At first the news arrived through no official channel, yet, as Lord Malmesbury informs us, it came "in so many shapes as to give it but too much the appearance of truth." The fact, however, of so terrible a misfortune having occurred, Pitt was almost incapable of realizing. "I clearly perceived," writes Lord Malmesbury, who dined with him on Saturday the 2nd of November, "that he disbelieved it more from the *dread* of its being true than from any well-grounded cause. On my still expressing my fears, he almost peevishly said—'Don't believe a word of it; it is all a fiction;' and in so loud a voice as to be heard by all who were near us. But on Sunday, 3rd November, he and Lord Mulgrave† came to me in Spring Gardens, about one o'clock, with a Dutch newspaper, in which the capitulation of Ulm was inserted at full length. As they neither of them understood Dutch, and as all the offices were empty, they came to me to translate it, which I did as well as I could; and I observed but too clearly the effect it had on Pitt, though he did his utmost to conceal it. This was the last time I saw him. He promised me to come for a few days to Park Place on his return from Bath, where he was then going, but was too ill to keep his word. This visit has left an indelible impression on my mind, as his manner and look were not his own, and gave me, in spite of myself, a foreboding of the loss with which we were threatened."‡

* Biographies, p. 226.

† Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 347, 348.

Iappily, four days afterwards, arrived the tidings of glorious battle of Trafalgar, saddening, however, the nd of the Minister by their conveying the additional telligence of the death of the immortal Nelson. "One ay in November," writes Lord Fitzharris, "I happened o dine with Pitt, and Trafalgar was naturally the engrossing subject of our conversation. I shall never forget the eloquent manner in which he described his conflicting feelings when roused in the night to read Collingwood's despatches. He observed that he had been called up at various hours in his eventful life by the arrival of news of various hues; but that, whether good or bad, he could always lay his head on his pillow and sink into sound sleep again. On this occasion, however, the great event announced, brought with it so much to weep over as well as to rejoice at, that he could not calm his thoughts, but at length got up, though it was three o'clock in the morning."*

For some time past, the state of the Minister's health had induced his physicians to recommend him to pay a visit to Bath, but, whether from disinclination or from the demands made upon him by public business, it was not till the 7th of December that he followed their advice. "The first effect of the waters," writes Lord Malmesbury, "was to procure a fit of the gout, but not a salutary one. It was attended with great pain, and produced excessive weakness and a total debility of digestion."† In this condition he was, when Canning arrived from London to break to him the news of an event—even more calamitou than the surrender at Ulm—that of the great victor won by Napoleon at Austerlitz. The first impulse of th lacerated Minister, on the despatches being laid befo him, was to call for a map of the seat of war and

* ...l Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 349, note.

† Ibid., p. 351.

desire to be left alone.* From that time his countenance acquired even an intenser look of misery than before. Wilberforce used to call it his "Austerlitz look." All his friends seem to have been agreed that Austerlitz dealt him his death-blow. "It struck Pitt so deeply," writes Lord Malmesbury, "and found him in such an enfeebled state, that he certainly never recovered it."† "On receiving the account of the armistice after the battle of Austerlitz," writes Rose, "the gout quitted the extremities, and he fell into a debility, which continually increased."‡ "Pitt," writes Wilberforce, "was killed by the enemy as much as Nelson."§

On the 9th of January, 1806, Pitt bade farewell, for the last time, to the fair city where either he, or his illustrious father before him, had, for more than half a century, been the "observed of all observers." His journey to Putney Heath—during which his physician, Sir Walter Farquhar, was his companion—occupied three days. At Reading, on Friday the 10th, he was well enough to admit of Sir Walter's quitting him for a time, for the purpose of paying a visit to Lord Malmesbury at Park Place, near Henley; the arrangement being that he was to rejoin his patient at Salt Hill. At this time—as Sir Walter told Lord Malmesbury—Mr. Pitt had become so emaciated as to render him scarcely recognisable, and was otherwise in so precarious a state that nothing but "complete and entire rest" could save his life.‖ On Saturday the 11th he arrived at Putney Heath, where he was received by his niece Lady Hester Stanhope, on whose mind the sight of his wasted frame and the sound of his hollow voice seem to have impressed

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. 363.
† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 3, 352.
‡ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 235.
§ Life of Wilberforce, vol. iii. p. 245.
‖ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 352.

gloomiest convictions. As he traversed the passage ich led to his bedchamber, he called her attention to map of Europe which hung unfolded down the wall. Roll up that map," are said to have been his mourn- ul directions to her; "it will not be wanted these ten years."* Yet Sturges Bourne, who visited him on the following day, Sunday, thought him less altered in ap- pearance than he had expected, in addition to which, Doctors Baillie and Reynolds—whose professional attend- ance were called in upon that day—not only considered the chances of recovery to be in his favour, but gave it as their opinion that, should his complaint take no un- favourable turn, he might be able to attend to business in about a month.† Pitt himself, on this day, writes to Lord Wellesley—"I am recovering rather slowly from a series of stomach-complaints, followed by severe attacks of gout; but I believe I am now in the way of real amendment."‡

On the following day, Sunday the 12th, he was better, and the next day, Monday, was able to take an airing in his carriage, as well as to receive visits from Lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, whom he admitted sepa- rately, for a short time each, to his sick-chamber. The excitement, however, which these interviews produced, appears to have had an injurious effect upon his sys- tem. To his old tutor and secretary, the Bishop of Lincoln, he observed after the two lords were gone— "I feel something here," putting his hand on his stomach

* "O dread was the time, and more dreadful the omen,
When the brave on Marengo lay slaughtered in vain,
And, beholding broad Europe bowed down by her foemen,
Pitt closed in his anguish the map of her reign."
—*Sir Walter Scott, written for the Anniversary Meeting of Pitt Club in Scotland*, in 1814.

Sir Walter's lines would seem to be much more applicable to Austerlitz tha Marengo. If he had never heard the anecdote of Pitt directing the map to be d the coincidence is a curious one.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 224.

‡ Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. 374; Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 226.

"that reminds me I never shall recover; not cold, but a general giving way."*

Nevertheless, on the following day, the 14th, he was again able to take a drive in his carriage, and also to receive visits from his brother, Lord Chatham, and from Lord Wellesley, the latter of whom had recently arrived in England, on the termination of his brilliant government in India. Lord Wellesley, according to his own interesting account of their interview, was greeted by the invalid with his usual kindness and good-humour. To Lord Wellesley, Mr. Pitt's understanding appeared to be as vigorous and clear as ever. He was not only cheerful, but his spirits seemed to be as high as his friend had ever known them. "Amongst other topics," writes Lord Wellesley, "he told me, with great kindness and feeling, that since he had seen me he had been happy to become acquainted with my brother Arthur,† of whom he spoke in the warmest terms of commendation. He said,—'I never met any military officer with whom it was so satisfactory to converse. He states every difficulty before he undertakes any service; but none after he has undertaken it.'" Yet Lord Wellesley quitted Putney with a heavy heart. "Notwithstanding Mr. Pitt's kindness and cheerfulness," he writes, "I saw that the hand of death was fixed upon him. This melancholy truth was not known nor believed by either his friends or opponents."‡ Pitt, it appears, had fainted away before Lord Wellesley left the room.§

The next day, Wednesday the 15th, Pitt parted for the last time with another old friend, whose good

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 353; Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 222, 223.

† Mr. Pitt had met the late Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, in the previous month of November, at Lord Camden's seat, Wilderness Park, in Kent. See Lord Stanhope's very interesting 'Notes of Conversation with the Duke of Wellington at Walmer, October 25th, 1838,' in his 'Life of Pitt,' vol. iv. p. 346.

‡ Quarterly Review, vol. lvii. p. 491.

§ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 353.

lities he had appreciated for nearly a quarter of a
tury—George Rose. When the latter reached Putney
ath on that day, not only were the accounts which
received much more unfavourable than he had been
d to expect, but Mr Pitt was in a state which, in the
pinion of Sir Walter Farquhar, rendered it unadvis-
ble for him to see his political friends for the present.
Accordingly it was not till the evening that Rose was
admitted to the sick-chamber of the suffering Premier
There—not in the beautiful suburban mansion, which he
had once delighted to call his own*—but in a hired road-
side villa, in an apartment facing the palatial Lodge
where Addington was destined, for nearly forty years to
come, to enjoy ease, opulence, and dignity, lay—half-
broken-hearted, deeply in debt, and dying without a title
to his name, or a star glittering upon his dressing table—
the great statesman, who, during a period of nineteen
years, had wielded a power more absolute than had
been enjoyed by any British Minister in modern times
"Poor Pitt," afterwards wrote Wilberforce, "I almost
believe, died of a broken heart; for it is only due to him
to declare that the love of his country burned in him
with as ardent a flame as ever warmed the human
bosom, and the accounts from the armies struck a death's
blow within. A broken heart? What! Was he like
Otway, or Collins, or Chatterton, who had not so much
as a needful complement of food to sustain their bodies,
while the consciousness of unrewarded talents, of mor-
ed pride, pressed on them within, and ate out their

* Holwood, in Kent, which Mr Pitt's pecuniary difficulties had compelled him to
when he quitted office in 1801 "No person," writes Lord Wellesley, "had a more
quisite sense of the beauties of the country He took the greatest delight in his
idence at Holwood, which he enlarged and improved, it may be truly said, with his
n hands. Often have I seen him working in his woods and gardens with his labourers
r whole days together, undergoing considerable fatigue, and with so much eagerness
d assiduity, that you would suppose the cultivation of his villa to be the princip
ccupation of his life."—*Letter to Mr Croker, 22 Nov 1836, Quarterly Review*, vol. l

"that reminds me I never shall recover; not cold, but a general giving way."*

Nevertheless, on the following day, the 14th, he was again able to take a drive in his carriage, and also to receive visits from his brother, Lord Chatham, and from Lord Wellesley, the latter of whom had recently arrived in England, on the termination of his brilliant government in India. Lord Wellesley, according to his own interesting account of their interview, was greeted by the invalid with his usual kindness and good-humour. To Lord Wellesley, Mr. Pitt's understanding appeared to be as vigorous and clear as ever. He was not only cheerful, but his spirits seemed to be as high as his friend had ever known them. "Amongst other topics," writes Lord Wellesley, "he told me, with great kindness and feeling, that since he had seen me he had been happy to become acquainted with my brother Arthur,† of whom he spoke in the warmest terms of commendation. He said,—'I never met any military officer with whom it was so satisfactory to converse. He states every difficulty before he undertakes any service; but none after he has undertaken it.'" Yet Lord Wellesley quitted Putney with a heavy heart. "Notwithstanding Mr. Pitt's kindness and cheerfulness," he writes, "I saw that the hand of death was fixed upon him. This melancholy truth was not known nor believed by either his friends or opponents."‡ Pitt, it appears, had fainted away before Lord Wellesley left the room.§

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† Mr. Pitt had met the late Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, in the previous month of November, at Lord Camden's seat, Wilderness Park, in Kent. See Lord Stanhope's very interesting 'Notes of Conversation with the Duke of Wellington at Walmer, October 25th, 1838,' in his 'Life of Pitt,' vol. iv. p. 346.

‡ Quarterly Review, vol. lvii. p. 491.

§ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 353.

of the physicians, and of Dr Baillie in particular, it was possible that in a couple of months he would be again able to transact business.* In the course of the day, however, a critical change seems to have taken place. When, before night, the Premier's nephew, the Honourable James Hamilton Stanhope, arrived at his uncle's villa, gloom and apprehension encountered him at its threshold. "I did not go," he writes, "to Putney till Sunday the 19th, when I went in the carriage with Hester.† When we came within three hundred yards of the house, Mr Rose stopped the carriage. We immediately conceived the most dreadful apprehensions when we perceived him in tears, and his manner exhibiting marks of the most poignant grief. He said—'I fear there is danger;' and I believe these were his only words. On arriving at the house we found the melancholy intelligence but too true, and that apprehensions were entertained for his life, owing to a typhus fever which had succeeded his state of debility. On the Sunday he, however, took two eggs beaten up, and, on account of their remaining on his stomach, considerable hopes were entertained by Sir W. Farquhar."‡ When Rose reached Putney Heath, soon after daybreak on the following morning, he was informed, to his great sorrow, that Pitt had either fainted on the previous evening, or had "fallen into something like a fit," and was in other respects worse.§

It would seem to have been on Tuesday the 21st that the King, as well as the public, received the first intimation of the Premier's life being in immediate danger. The bulletin which was despatched to the Palace on the

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 2[illegible]1. Gifford's Life of Pitt, vol. vi. p. 804.

† Lady Hester Stanhope, it may be remembered, was in the house when Mr Pitt first arrived at Putney from Bath. Lord Malmesbury, however, incidentally mentions that Mr Pitt "would not allow her *always* to be at Putney." *Diaries*, vol. iv. p. 3[illegible].

‡ Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. 379. § Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 229.

very souls? No! he was the highest in power and estimation in the whole kingdom; the favourite, I believe, on the whole, of King and people. Yes! this man, who died of a broken heart, was First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer."*

Rose's account of his last interview with his illustrious friend is a painfully interesting one. "Mr. Pitt," he writes, "insisted that I should not leave the house till evening; and about eight o'clock Sir Walter brought me a message to say he was confident the seeing me would do him good. I therefore no longer hesitated, but went up to his room, and found him lying on a sofa, emaciated to a degree I could not have conceived. He pressed my hand with all the force he could—feebly enough, God knows!—and told me earnestly he found himself better for having me by the hand. I did not remain with him more than five minutes. The short conversation was quite general, as I felt it of importance not to touch on any topic that could agitate his mind in the smallest degree, and at ten in the evening I left the house. His countenance was changed extremely, his voice weak, and his body almost wasted, and so, indeed, were his limbs."†

On the evening of the following day, Rose received a somewhat more cheering account from Putney Heath. "Mr. Pitt," writes the Bishop of Lincoln to him, "has continued in bed the whole day, quiet and composed upon the whole, and without any increase of unpleasant symptoms. He is going to be removed to his sofa for an hour. Sir Walter's report is rather more favourable."‡ From this day "no considerable alteration" is said to have taken place till Sunday the 19th, on the morning of which day the invalid was not only not worse, but, in the opinion

* Life of Wilberforce, vol. iii. p. 251.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 223.

‡ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 207.

of the physicians, and of Dr Baillie in particular, it was *possible that in a couple of months he would be again able to transact business* * In the course of the day, however, a critical change seems to have taken place When, before night, the Premier's nephew, the Honourable James Hamilton Stanhope, arrived at his uncle's villa, gloom and apprehension encountered him at its threshold "I did not go, he writes, "to Putney till Sunday the 19th, when I went in the carriage with Hester † When we came within three hundred yards of the house, Mr Rose stopped the carriage We immediately conceived the most dreadful apprehensions when we perceived him in tears, and his manner exhibiting marks of the most poignant grief He said—'I fear there is danger,' and I believe these were his only words On arriving at the house we found the melancholy intelligence but too true, and that apprehensions were entertained for his life, owing to a typhus fever which had succeeded his state of debility On the Sunday he, however, took two eggs beaten up, and, on account of their remaining on his stomach, considerable hopes were entertained by Sir W Farquhar ‡ When Rose reached Putney Heath, soon after daybreak on the following morning, he was informed, to his great sorrow, that Pitt had either fainted on the previous evening, or had "fallen into something like a fit,' and was in other respects worse §

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* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 271 Gifford's Life of Pitt vol. vi. p. 804

† Lady Hester Stanhope it may be remembered, was in the house when Mr Pitt first arrived at Putney from Bath. Lord Malmesbury however incidentally mentions that Mr Pitt would not allow her *always* to be at Putney"—*Diaries*, vol. iv p. 344.

‡ Earl Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. iv p. 379 § Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. [illegible]

evening of that day, announced that his "symptoms were unpromising and his situation hazardous."* The expected dissolution of a statesman, who had played so prominent a part on the theatre of the world as Pitt had done, could scarcely fail to create a painful as well as extraordinary sensation. "No one," writes Horner, this day, from the gallery of the House of Commons, "even with all his party antipathies, or with all his resentment for the mischiefs which have been brought upon the country, can be insensible to the death of so eminent a man. In the place where I am sitting now, I feel this more than seems quite reasonable to myself. I cannot forget how this space has been filled with his magnificent and glowing declamations, or reflect with composure that that fine instrument of sound is probably extinguished for ever."†

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* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 229, *note*. † Life of Horner, vol. i. p. 325.
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* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 23[illegible]

† Auckland Correspondence vol iv p. [illegible]

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Mr. Pitt in the course of this day grew sensibly worse. "From my seeing him," writes Rose, "on the evening of Wednesday the 15th—from which time no one had access to him except the Bishop and the physicians—he had lain on the sofa or in bed without hardly opening his mouth, except to answer questions put to him by the physicians; nor did he attempt to read a line. But such a mind as his must have been occupied with something. About what *that* was, no conjecture could be formed." * "I was there about five yesterday evening," writes Lord Buckinghamshire on Thursday, the 23rd, "when I saw the Bishop and Sir Walter. The scene was too distressing to admit of my remaining many minutes, but they then appeared to entertain no hope." † That night the Bishop of Lincoln deemed it right to apprise Mr. Pitt of his danger, at the same time proposing that they should pray together, and that he should administer the Sacrament to him. The dying statesman received the intelligence of his approaching fate with the greatest firmness. For a few moments he looked earnestly at the Bishop, and then turning his head with perfect composure towards Sir Walter Farquhar, who was standing on the other side of the bed, he slowly inquired—"How long do you think I have to live?" Sir Walter answered that he was unable to say; that possibly he might yet recover. A half-smile, as if of incredulity, passed over the countenance of the invalid. He had not strength enough, he said, to go through the Sacrament, but acquiesced in the Bishop's invitation to join him in prayer. "I fear," he said, "I have, like too many other men, neglected prayer too much to allow me to hope that it can be very efficacious now; but," rising as he spoke and clasping his

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 230. † Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 2[illegible].

hands with the utmost fervour and devotion, he added emphatically—"I throw myself *entirely* upon the mercy of God, through the merits of Christ!" He then, with his hands still clasped together, joined with much earnestness with the Bishop in prayer.*

The closing scene of the illustrious statesman is thus pathetically described by his nephew, Mr. Stanhope. "From Wednesday morning (January 22nd) I did not leave his room, except for a few minutes, till the time of his death, though I did not allow him to see me, as I felt myself unequal to the dreadful scene of parting with him, and feared—although he was given over—that the exertion on his part might hasten the dreadful event which now appeared inevitable. Hester applied for leave to see him, which was refused. Taking, however, the opportunity of Sir Walter's being at dinner, she went into Mr. Pitt's room. Though even then wandering a little, he immediately recollected her, and, with his usual angelic mildness, wished her future happiness, and gave her a most solemn blessing and affectionate farewell. On her leaving the room I entered it, and for some time afterwards Mr. Pitt continued to speak of her, and several times repeated—'Dear soul, I know she loves me! Where is Hester? Is Hester gone?'

"In the evening Sir Walter gave him some champagne, in hopes of keeping up for a time his wasting and subdued strength; and as Mr. Pitt seemed to feel pain in swallowing it, owing to the thrush in his throat, Sir Walter said, 'I am sorry, Sir, to give you pain. Do not take it unkind.' Mr. Pitt, with that mildness which adorned his private life, replied—'I never take anything unkind that is meant for my good.' At three o'clock

* Gifford's Life of Pitt, vol. vi. pp. 806, 807; from information furnished by the Bishop of Lincoln. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 230, 231. Narrative of the Hon. J. H. Stanhope, in Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. pp. 379, 380.

on Wednesday Colonel Taylor arrived express from his Majesty at Windsor, and returned with the melancholy [news] of all hopes having ceased. I remained the whole of Wednesday night with Mr. Pitt. His mind seemed fixed on the affairs of the country, and he expressed his thoughts aloud, though sometimes incoherently. He spoke a good deal concerning a private letter from Lord Harrowby, and frequently inquired the direction of the wind; then said, answering himself—'East—ah! that will do; that will bring him quick;' at other times seemed to be in conversation with a messenger; and sometimes cried out—'Hear, hear!' as if in the House of Commons. During the time he did not speak he moaned considerably, crying—'O dear! O Lord!' Towards twelve the rattles came in his throat, and proclaimed approaching dissolution. Sir Walter, the Bishop, Charles, and my sister were lying down on their beds, overcome with fatigue. At one, a Mr. South arrived from town in a chaise, bringing a vial of hartshorn-oil, a spoonful of which he insisted on Mr. Pitt's taking, as he had known it recover people in the last agonies. Remonstrance as to its certain inefficacy was useless, and, on Sir Walter saying that it could be of no detriment, we poured a couple of spoonfuls down Mr. Pitt's throat. It produced no effect but a little convulsive cough. In about half-an-hour Mr. South returned to town. At about half-past two Mr. Pitt ceased moaning, and did not speak, or make the slightest sound for some time, as his extremities were then growing chilly. I feared he was dying; but shortly afterwards, with a much clearer voice than he spoke in before, and in a tone I shall never forget, he exclaimed—'Oh, my country! How I love my country!' From that time he never spoke or moved, and at half-past four expired without a groan or struggle. His strength being quite exhausted, his life departed like a candle burning

out."* The Bishop of Lincoln told Lord Sidmouth that Mr. Pitt had been delirious during the last thirty-six hours of his existence.† "At the age of forty-six," said Sir Walter Farquhar to Lord Malmesbury, "he died of old age as much as if he had been ninety."‡

Mr. Pitt expired on the 23rd of January, 1806, being the twenty-fifth anniversary, as his biographer Gifford points out, of the day on which he had first taken his seat in the House of Commons.§ Thus the same day may be said to have commenced and to have terminated his memorable public career. The House of Commons honoured his memory with a public funeral, and voted the sum of forty thousand pounds for the payment of his debts.

On the 20th and 21st of February the remains of the late Minister lay in state in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, famous in English history from the day when Edward the Confessor died within its walls, to that on which the body of the great Chatham had rested there on its way to the neighbouring Abbey. The pall over the coffin was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by the Dukes of Beaufort, Portland, and Montrose. The Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord Mayor

* Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iv. pp. 380, 382. The dying words of Mr. Pitt, in which he is said to have apostrophised his country, excited some interest at the time, and have occasioned much discussion since. "It was asserted," writes Lord Macaulay, "in many after-dinner speeches, Grub-street elegies, and academic prize poems, that the great Minister died exclaiming, 'O my country!' This is a fable; but it is true that the last words which he uttered, while he knew what he said, were broken exclamations about the alarming state of public affairs."—*Biographies*, p. 230. Yet it would seem almost unquestionable that very shortly before his dissolution, he uttered the words which Mr. Stanhope has put into his mouth, or at least words very nearly resembling them. "About half an hour before he breathed his last," writes Rose, "the servant heard him say, 'My country! Oh, my country!'"—*Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 233. Three days after Mr. Pitt's death, Sir Walter Farquhar told Lady Malmesbury that the last words which Mr. Pitt had spoken were,—"Oh, what times! Oh, my country!" *Lord Malmesbury's Diaries*, vol. iv. p. 354. See also the *Annual Register* for 1806, p. 883.

† Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 29.

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 354.

§ Gifford's Life of Pitt, vol. vi. p. 808.

of London, thirty two Peers—including three Princes of the Blood, the Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge—ten Bishops, and about one hundred and fifty members of the House of Commons walked in the procession Among the mourners were six persons, all of whom either had been, or were afterwards, Prime Ministers of England—Lord Sidmouth, Lord Grenville Spencer Perceval, Lord Liverpool, Canning, and the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley The latter walked in the procession as the younger son of an Earl The chief mourner was the Earl of Chatham, supported by the Earl of Westmoreland and Earl Camden The "Banner of Emblems' was carried by Perceval, supported by Mr Canning and Mr Rose One of the supporters of the "Banner of the Crest of Pitt"—which was borne by his kinsman Thomas Cholmondeley—was William Wilberforce * The open vault which awaited his remains lay near the north door, overlooked by the towering effigy of his illustrious father "As though in mockery of greatness," said Wilberforce, "the statue seemed to be looking down with consternation into the grave which was opened for his favourite son, the last perpetuator of the name which he had ennobled † There was another mourner present, whose classical imagination, as his eye glanced upon the descending coffin, was well able to appreciate the deep interest of the scene "We attended him," writes Lord Wellesley, "to Westminster Abbey There the grave of his illustrious father was opened to receive him, and we saw his remains deposited on the coffin of his venerated parent What grave contains such a father and such a son? What sepulchre embosoms the remains of so much excellence and glory?'‡

* Annual Register for 1806, p. 374 London Gazette from 1st to 4th of March 1806.
† Life of Wilberforce vol. iii. p. [illegible].
‡ Letter to Mr Croker dated Nov 22nd, 1836 Quarterly Review vol. lvii. p. 49[illegible]

Having formally proclaimed the titles of the deceased, the herald pronounced over the grave the apparently volunteer, but not unmerited, eulogium:—

"Non sibi sed patriæ vixit—"*

and with these words closed the memorable ceremony.

The news of Mr. Pitt's death was received by different persons with very different sensations. His admirers saw in the event the ruin of their country, while the Opposition, on the other hand, began to entertain hopes of returning peace and prosperity. Personally, not only Fox but Lord Grenville—with whom Pitt at the time of his death appears not to have been on speaking terms—were greatly affected by the event; Lord Wellesley informing us that when he warned the latter of the approaching dissolution of his relative and rival, he broke into "an agony of tears."† Mr. Wickham also writes to Speaker Abbot that he had left both Lord and Lady Grenville in as great distress as he "could well conceive two persons to have been on any occasion."‡ Perhaps the person who received the news in the most characteristic manner was Pitt's old colleague and enemy, Lord Thurlow, to whom it was communicated while he was examining the Townley Marbles at the British Museum. "A d——d good hand at turning a period!"—was the bitter and only remark which it elicited from him.§ Before the autumn had far advanced, Thurlow himself lay on his deathbed.

* Annual Register for 1806, p. 375.

† Quarterly Review, vol. lvii. p. 491.

‡ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 31.

§ Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. v. p. 644.

CHAPTER LXIII.

The King's feelings on receiving the news of Pitt's death—Lord Grenville succeeds in forming an Administration—First interview between the King and Fox on the latter becoming Secretary of State—Their subsequent satisfactory intercourse—Retirement of Lord Eldon from office—Anecdotes of Lord Thurlow—His death—Last illness and death of Fox—The King regrets his loss.

So affected was the King by the death of the great Minister who had served him so long and so faithfully, that it was not till after two days had elapsed that he Jan. 2 could either bear to speak of the event, or consented to admit his Ministers to his presence.* The stormy state of the political horizon, both at home and abroad, necessarily increased the distress of the King. "The effect on the King's mind"—writes Lord Henley—"and the embarrassments into which this event must plunge him, I greatly fear."† Willingly the King would have retained his present Ministers in power—placing Lord Sidmouth at their head—but, as he afterwards admitted to Rose, he had "found from experience" that his former favourite servant was unequal to the government of the country.‡ Under these circumstances he applied to Lord Hawkesbury to form an Administration. That amiable statesman, however, satisfied with availing himself of this opportunity of securing for himself the lucrative post

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 30.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 265.

‡ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 232.

of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, wisely declined an employment, the difficulties and harass of which even Pitt had shown himself unequal to confront.

Lord Hawkesbury's refusal of the Premiership left the King no other option but to apply to one of the two parties in Opposition. Accordingly, on Sunday the 26th of January, the Earl of Dartmouth, by the King's commands, waited upon Lord Grenville, with the intimation that his Majesty required his attendance at Buckingham House on the following day, for the purpose of consulting with him on the construction of a new Administration. Happily, the appointed meeting passed off in the most satisfactory manner possible. It was Lord Grenville's strong conviction, as he plainly told the King, that no Administration could be either durable or serviceable to the country unless it comprehended the leading statesmen of all parties; a conviction, to the justice of which the King not only graciously assented, but, on Lord Grenville further intimating that he should feel it his duty to include and to advise with Mr. Fox on the proposed arrangements, his Majesty's reply was in the highest degree satisfactory. "I thought so," he said, "and meant it so."* The King then expressed a wish that the necessary arrangements might be made by Wednesday the 29th, on which day he would come to London for the purpose of completing them. Lord Grenville, however, having objected that they could scarcely be concluded by so early a date—"Then," said the King, "the sooner the better. I will come to town and stay till it is done. There are to be no exclusions."†

Thus armed with the authority of the King. Lord Grenville proceeded to construct an Administration on

* Horner's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 331. Annual Register for 1806, p. 21. "The King," writes Lord Sidmouth to Lord de Dunstanville, "authorised Lord Grenville to form an Administration, and instantly waived his objection to Mr. Fox."—Pellew's *Life of Sidmouth*, vol. ii. p. 415.

† Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 32.

the most comprehensive basis that lay within his reach. It comprised a fourfold junction between the "old Opposition," which recognised Fox as their chief, the "new Opposition," headed by Lord Grenville, the small band distinguished as the "Prince of Wales's friends," and the party who looked up to Lord Sidmouth as their leader. "The Prince of Wales," writes Lord Malmesbury, "went most heartily and unbecomingly with them, and lowered his dignity by soliciting office and places for his dependents, and by degrading himself into the size of a common party leader."* The members of the new Cabinet consisted of Lord Grenville, as First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Sidmouth, as Lord Privy Seal, Fox, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Earl Spencer, as Secretary for the Home Department, Windham, as Secretary for War and the Colonies, Earl Grey, then Lord Howick, as First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Moira, as Master General of the Ordnance, Lord Henry Petty, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Earl Fitzwilliam, as President of the Council, Lord Erskine, as Lord Chancellor, and, in order to gratify Lord Sidmouth, of Lord Ellenborough as Lord Chief Justice. The Prince of Wales was gratified by his friend Lord Moira not only being appointed to the Ordnance and admitted into the Cabinet, but also being selected for the coveted military post of Lieutenant of the Tower of London. Another friend of the Prince, Sheridan, was nominated Treasurer of the Navy, the post of Secretary of War was conferred on General Fitzpatrick, Sir Samuel Romilly was appointed Solicitor General.

Of the nature of the King's feelings, on having his old enemy Fox again forced upon him as his Minister, we have fortunately an account from no less valuable and interesting an authority than that of his Majesty's second

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. [illegible]

daughter, the Princess Augusta.* "At the period of Mr. Fox's return to power," writes the Princess, introducing herself in the third person, "the King—then in full possession of his faculties—showed for several days considerable uneasiness of mind. A cloud seemed to overhang his spirits. On his return one day from London the cloud was evidently removed, and his Majesty, on entering the room where the Queen and Princess Augusta were, said he had news to tell them. 'I have taken Mr. Fox for my Minister, and on the whole am satisfied with the arrangement.'" "When Mr. Fox," added the Princess, on the King's authority, "came into the closet for the first time, his Majesty purposely made a short pause, and then said—'Mr. Fox, I little thought you and I should ever meet again in this place. But I have no desire to look back upon old grievances, and you may rest assured I never shall remind you of them.' Mr. Fox replied—'My deeds, and not my words, shall commend me to your Majesty.'"

Neither was Fox behindhand with the King in endeavouring to forgive and forget the past. "Mr. Fox," said Lord Sidmouth, "was always peculiarly respectful and conciliatory in his manner towards the King, and most anxious to avoid every question which did not harmonize with his Majesty's conscientious feelings."† Though Fox, as the King told Lord Eldon, had certainly been forced upon him against his will, yet so far was his new Minister from treating him as if he was in his power, that he invariably behaved towards him with the respect which was his due. "Mr. Fox's manner," the King used to say, "contrasted remarkably with that of another of his Whig Ministers, who, when he came into office, walked up to

* From a memorandum given by H.R.H. the late Princess Augusta to a friend.—*Quarterly Review*, vol. cv. p. 482.

† Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 435.

him in the way he should have expected from Buonaparte after the battle of Austerlitz."*

Further causes of this improved state of feeling of the King towards Fox may be traced to the diligence, punctuality, and attention, with which the new Secretary for Foreign Affairs conducted the duties of his office. According to Fox's private secretary, John Bernard Trotter—"His Majesty, who was always extremely regular and punctual in the discharge of his own high duties, said that the office had never been conducted in such a manner before, and expressed much satisfaction at Mr. Fox's mode of doing the business. This testimony was the more striking and valuable as his Majesty never caused delay himself in that department. The despatches transmitted to, and laid before him, were uniformly returned with a punctuality deserving every praise, worthy of imitation, and *highly becoming the first magistrate of the State*."† Again Trotter writes—"From the time of Mr. Fox's entering the Cabinet, in 1806, till his illness, his Majesty had never occasion to testify disapprobation. With his mode of conducting a negotiation he was much pleased. His despatches obtained even his Majesty's admiration, as of official writing there was no better judge."‡ Unfortunately, only for a few months longer was the State destined to profit by the genius and industry of the illustrious statesman.

Of the late Ministers, the one with whom the King parted with the greatest regret was unquestionably Lord Eldon. When, on Friday, the 7th of February, the ex-Chancellor attended at Buckingham House to deliver up the Great Seal, "the King," he says, "appeared for a few minutes to occupy himself with other things. Looking up suddenly, he exclaimed—'Lay them down on the sofa,

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 510.
† Trotter's Memoirs of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, p. 371, 3rd edition.
‡ Ibid., p. 376.

for I *cannot* and I *will not* take them from you.' 'Yet,' he afterwards added, 'I admit you can't stay when all the rest have run away.'" When, in the month of March, the following year, Lord Eldon was reinstated in the Chancellorship, the King restored the Great Seal to him in the same kind and gracious manner. "I could not," he repeated, "expect you to stay when the others ran away." *

The contingency which the King had had the most reason to dread, as the consequence of the return of the Whigs to power, was the revival of the embarrassing question of Roman Catholic Emancipation, which Fox and Lord Grenville had over and over again pledged themselves to bring forward. Pitt, indeed, in deference to the King's almost morbid though conscientious scruples, had formerly pledged himself to distress his Sovereign no more on the subject; but his conduct on that occasion had been too loudly deprecated by Fox to render it very likely that the latter would be ever induced to exercise a similar forbearance. "I own," had been Fox's language to Lord Grey, on the 19th of October, 1803, "I have a little desire to rescue ourselves from the *infamy* of acquiescing in the *baseness* of conceding the most important of all national points to the private opinion of the King." † Since then, however, the times had changed, and Fox, not without excuse, undoubtedly had changed with the times. When, shortly after his return to office, the Austrian Ambassador, Count Stahremberg, put the question to him—"Have you no difficulty respecting the Roman Catholic question?" "None at all," was the reply; "I am determined not to annoy my Sovereign by bringing it forward." ‡

On the 12th of September, 1806, died at Brighton, either in his seventy-fifth, or seventy-sixth year, the once

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. i. p. 512.
† Earl Russell's Memorials of Fox, vol. iii. p. 429.
‡ Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 435.

domineering and dreaded Lord Chancellor, Edward Lord Thurlow.* Since the year 1792, when the King had been compelled to deprive him of the Great Seal, his feelings towards his Sovereign appear to have been bitterness itself, while, on the other hand, the King's language, whenever he had occasion to speak of his former servant, seems to have been invariably that of consideration and kindness. Thurlow, observed the King to Rose, in the autumn of 1804, was a man of considerable feeling; "he had seen tears in his eyes."† In like words of kindness he spoke of him, about this time, to his illegitimate daughter, Mrs. Cunningham. "He retained," he told her, "a grateful recollection of her father's attachment to him." Singularly enough, the King would seem to have remained in ignorance, even up to this late period, of Thurlow's perfidy to him during his terrible mental disorder in 1789. "He should never," he told Mrs. Cunningham, "have out of his mind her father's solemn declaration, that if ever he should forget his King, he trusted God in such a case would forget him."‡

During the latter part of Lord Thurlow's life he appears to have principally resided either at his villa near Dulwich, of which no vestige now remains, or else at Brighton. His closing years were cheered by a redeeming taste for the classical literature of Rome and Greece, by the delight

* Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors* (vol. v. p. [illegible]) fixes the year 1[illegible] as that in which Lord Thurlow was born; yet, afterwards (p. [illegible]) he states him to have died in September, 1806, in his seventy-sixth year. There is evidently some mistake in these dates.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 1[illegible]2. When Lady Craven, afterwards Margravine of Anspach, consulted Thurlow on the subject of her painful domestic troubles, she was struck by seeing him similarly affected. "I shall never," she writes, "forget Lord Thurlow's manner, nor how I saw tears starting from those eyes which were supposed never to have wept."—*Memoirs of Herself*, vol. i. p. 81. On another occasion we find him moved to tears while reading aloud Portia's beautiful apostrophe to Mercy, in Shakespeare's play of the 'Merchant of Venice.'—*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. v. p. [illegible].

"Mirandum est unde ille oculis suffecerit humor."

‡ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 1[illegible]. See *ante*, p. 77.

which, in common with Bishop Warburton and Charles Fox, he took in works of fiction, and by an ardent love for music, of which he perfectly understood the theory. He had even made himself master of the principles of thorough-bass, in order that he might be able to superintend the musical studies of a favourite daughter.*

To the last, Thurlow enjoyed society; usually inviting, when at Brighton, ten or twelve persons to dine with him. His conversational powers—which derived their varied excellence from a ready wit, a thorough knowledge of men and books, a strong sense of the ridiculous, an extraordinary memory, and from a long intercourse with the wise, the learned, and the witty—were unquestionably of a high order. His voice, we are told, while it was "by no means devoid of melody, was a kind of rolling, murmuring thunder."† Dr. Johnson paid him the high compliment of proclaiming that there was no man in England for whose society he would "prepare" himself but Thurlow. "When I am to meet him," he said, "I should like to know a day before."‡ Cradock, who was personally acquainted with both of them, appears, of the two, to have preferred the society of Thurlow. "I was always," he writes, "more afraid of Johnson than of Thurlow, for though the latter sometimes was very rough and coarse, yet the decisive stroke of the former left a mortal wound

* "The Bishop," said Mrs. Warburton to Cradock, "would, when we spent our winters in London, often after his long and severe studies, send out for a whole basketful of books from the circulating libraries; and at times I have gone into his study and found him laughing, though alone; and now and then he would double down some entertaining passages for my after amusement."—*Cradock's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 188. "Bishop Warburton," writes Bishop Newton, "was such an universal reader, that he took delight even in romances; and there is scarce one of any note, ancient or modern, which he had not read. He said himself that he had learned Spanish to have the pleasure of reading 'Don Quixote' in the original."—*Bishop Newton's Life of Himself*, Works, vol. i. p. 154.

† Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. v. p. 627.

‡ "I honour Thurlow, sir," said Johnson on another occasion; "Thurlow is a fine fellow, he fairly puts his mind to yours."—Croker's *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, p. 717, edition 1848.

behind it.' * In conversational combats of wit and argument, neither Horne Tooke nor Curran appears to have had any chance against Thurlow. Sir Philip Francis, indeed, who detested him, is said to have boasted that one day or other he would make "an example of the old ruffian," but though they frequently afterwards met in society, no evidence exists of Francis having ever obtained the victory which he promised himself.† Hare alone—the idol of society, the celebrated "Hare with many friends"—is said to have been able to turn the laugh against the dreaded ex-Chancellor, and this not merely on a single occasion, but repeatedly, both at Carlton House and Woburn Abbey.‡

To the last, Lord Thurlow retained that imposing solemnity of manner and appearance which, in former days, had alike overawed the Courts of Law and the House of Peers. One who met him at dinner at Brighton, within a fortnight before he died, describes himself as having been more struck with Thurlow's appearance than with that of any other person with whom he had ever associated. "Upon entering the drawing room," he writes, "where he was seated on a sofa, we were all involuntarily moved to silence, and there was a stillness which the fall of a pin would have disturbed. He did not move when we came into the room, but slightly inclined his head, which had before hung down on his breast. He was dressed in an old fashioned grey suit, buttoned very loosely about him, and hanging down very low. He had on a

* Cradock's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 4.

† Thurlow, it seems, had given great offence to Sir Philip Francis by a sarcastic remark which he had growled out in the House of Lords in 1773, on the occasion of Francis, General Clavering and Monson, having been sent to India to control Warren Hastings in his splendid administration of the affairs of the East. "It was the greatest misfortune," said Thurlow, "both to India and to England that the ship which carried those three gentlemen had not in her passage gone to the bottom of the sea."—Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 67.

‡ Ibid.

brown wig, with three rows of curls hanging partly over his shoulders. He was very grave, and spoke little. His voice is rough, and his manner of speaking slow. Lord Thurlow is, I believe, only seventy-five; but from his appearance I should have thought him a hundred years old. His large, black, heavy eyes, which he fixes at intervals upon you, are overshadowed with perfectly white eyebrows, and his complexion is pallid and cadaverous." The same writer, a day or two afterwards, dined at Thurlow's own table. "We went to-day," he writes, "to dine at Lord Thurlow's, and upon being summoned from the drawing-room to dinner, we found him already seated at the head of his table, in the same costume as the day before, and looking equally grave and ill. Lord Bute being mentioned, and some one observing his life was going to be written, Lord Thurlow sharply observed, 'The life of a fly would be as interesting.'" *

Thurlow, when no longer the favourite Minister of his Sovereign, had successfully courted the favour of the Heir Apparent, who, for some years, consulted him in all his domestic disputes—whether with his father or with his wife—and by whom he was ever treated with singular deference and respect. During the earlier period of their intimacy Thurlow had been a frequent and favourite guest both at Carlton House and at the Pavilion at Brighton; but, as he advanced in years, the society of the fops and of the men of the Turf, whom he was in the habit of meeting there, became more and more distasteful to him, and accordingly, latterly it was but rarely that he could be induced to accept the Prince's invitations. "If"—was once his gruff reply to the heir to the throne—"I must name a day for dining with your Royal Highness, it shall be when your Royal Highness keeps better company." Once, when he

* Law Magazine, vol. vii. p. 90; Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. v. pp. 629-630.

was prevailed upon to break through his rule, it happened that one of the persons invited to the Prince's table was a notorious sporting character of the day, Sir John Lade, whose company his Royal Highness so well knew would be offensive to the eccentric lawyer, that he anticipated his displeasure by meeting him in an ante room at the Pavilion and apologizing for the Baronet's presence. Sir John Lade, said the Prince, was an old friend of his, who had come to Brighton to attend the races, and he could not avoid asking him to dinner. The ex-Chancellor, however, was apparently determined not to be pacified. "I have no objection, Sir," he said, "to Sir John Lade in his proper place, which I take to be your Royal Highness's coach box, and not your dinner table."*

The disorder of which Lord Thurlow died, lasted only two days. "I have not," writes Lord Campbell, "learned any particulars of his end, but I will hope that it was a good one. That his nature was not all ruggedness and selfishness, as may perhaps be supposed, may be presumed from the fact that the Prince of Wales, in speaking of his loss, was so affected as to shed tears." Thurlow's remains rest in the vault under the south aisle of the Temple Church, into which they were lowered with extraordinary pomp and solemnity.†

On the day following that on which Lord Thurlow breathed his last, expired, in his fifty eighth year, a man of a far higher genius and of a far more genial temperament, Charles James Fox. For a long time past, the seeds of a fatal disorder would seem to have been lurking in his once vigorous constitution. For instance, on Wednesday, the 2nd of April, Lord Colchester mentions in his Diary that he was *taken ill in the House of Commons* on the preceding Monday,‡ and again when the late Mr Rogers

* Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. v. p. 6..   † Ib. pp. 630 631.
‡ Lord Colchester's Diary and Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 4..

paid him a visit in Stable Yard, he observed the suspicious circumstance of the works of Hippocrates lying open before him.* Yet it was not till some weeks afterwards, that those, to whom he was most near and dear, seem to have entertained any suspicion of the painful truth. "About the end of May," writes his private secretary, Trotter, "Mrs. Fox mentioned slightly to me that Mr. Fox was unwell, but at this time there was no alarm or apprehension. In the beginning of June, I received a message from her, requesting me to come to him, as he had expressed a wish for me to read to him, if I was disengaged. It was in the evening, and I found him reclining upon a couch, uneasy and languid. It seemed to me so sudden an attack that I was surprised and shocked. He requested me to read some of the 'Æneid' to him, and desired me to turn to the Fourth Book. This was his favourite part."† His nephew, Lord Holland, also writes—"Early in June, I dined and spent the day with him, at the request of Mrs. Fox. He had been attacked by rheumatism in the thighs, and by a very unusual dejection of spirits."‡ Nevertheless, on the 19th he was not only well enough to drink tea with the Speaker in his private room in the House of Commons, but appears to have conversed with his usual spirit and animation. "In the course of the afternoon's conversation," writes Lord Colchester, "we fell upon a variety of topics; the ignorance of the dark ages, which he denied to be so very dark as we are apt to represent them. He instanced their buildings, and the spirited and learned style of Pope Hildebrand. He agreed in the admiration of Livy's Speeches, and instanced that of Philip of Macedon, &c.; but, for the greater part of Livy, he looked upon it as little better than a beautiful romance,

* Recollections by Samuel Rogers, p. 74.

† Memoirs of the Latter Years of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, by J. Bernard Trotter, p. 412.

‡ Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. i. p. 246.

with the history of the Horatii and Curiatii, &c " "This," adds Lord Colchester, "was the last, or very nearly the last time, of Mr Fox attending the House of Commons" *

From this period, Fox's disorder, which proved to be dropsy, appears to have grown steadily worse "Mr Fox's physicians," writes Lord Colchester on the 29th of June, "last night had a consultation, and the result was that they acquainted him with the absolute necessity of his immediately giving up business, and retiring into the country, that no medicine could have its effect until he did so To which he answered that the business now in his hands was so pressing as to render that impossible, and that he would go on at all risks" † It was under these circumstances that his friends—through the medium of Lord Howick—suggested to him the prudence of removing into the House of Lords, a promotion which would relieve him from the laborious duties entailed by a constant attendance in the House of Commons "Mrs Fox," writes Lord Holland, "was in the room when this suggestion was made At the mention of the Peerage, he looked at her significantly, with a reference to his secret but early determination never to be created a Peer, and after a short pause, he said—'No, not yet, I think not yet'" The same evening, as Lord Holland was sitting by his bedside, discussing with him the most feasible means of relieving him of a share of his present toil and anxieties, without requiring him to resign his seat in the Cabinet, the invalid adverted to the proposal to elevate him to the House of Lords "The Peerage, to be sure," he said, "seems the natural way, but that cannot be I have an oath in Heaven against it I will not close my politics in that foolish way, as so many have done before me" ‡

* Lord Colchester Diaries, vol ii pp [illegible] † Ibid p 73

‡ Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party vol i pp [illegible]

During his illness Fox was subjected at times to great bodily torture, which he endured with singular equanimity. Occasionally, indeed, he is described as suffering from depression of spirits, as if anticipating a fatal termination to his disorder. For instance, in one of its early stages, we find him observing to a friend—"Pitt has died in January: perhaps I may go off before June;" adding, "I begin to think my complaint not unlike Pitt's. My stomach has been long discomposed. I feel my constitution dissolving."* Again, when, in the beginning of July, some one happened to remark that it would be two or three months before Mrs. Fox's black swans were likely to be in good plumage—"Then," was his mournful observation, "I shall never see them so."† Nevertheless, the natural sweetness and serenity of his disposition supported him through every trial. "His temper," writes his faithful secretary, who tended him during his long illness, "never changed, and was always serene and sweet. It was amazing to behold so much distressing anguish and so great equanimity."‡ And again, at a later period, Trotter writes—"During the whole time of my attendance at night on Mr. Fox, not one impatient word escaped him."§

Mr. Fox's London residence at this time was Godolphin House, Stable Yard, St. James's,|| the site of which is now covered by the stately mansion of the Duke of Sutherland. "The garden of the house at Stable Yard," writes Trotter, "was daily filled with anxious inquirers. The foreign Ambassadors, or Ministers, or private friends of Mr. Fox, walked there, eager to know his state of health, and catch at the hope of amendment. As he grew worse, he ceased to go out in his carriage, and was drawn in a garden-chair at

* Annual Register for 1806, p. 912. † Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 75, 76.

‡ Trotter's Memoirs of Fox, p. 415. § Ibid., p. 453.

|| The Annual Register for 1806 (p. 911) alludes to Godolphin House as being, at the time of Fox taking up his residence there, "the elegant mansion of the Duke of Bedford, at St. James's."

times round the walks. I have myself drawn him whilst the Austrian Ambassador, Prince Stahrembergh, conversed with him. His manner was as easy, and his mind as penetrating and vigorous as ever, and he transacted business in this way, though heavily oppressed by his disorder, with perfect facility.* Among the numerous friends and admirers who are mentioned as crowding to Stable Yard to manifest their sympathy with the suffering statesman, we find the Prince of Wales who saw and sat with him almost every day, the Dukes of York and Clarence, Grattan, Sheridan, and Lord Sidmouth. "At one singular interview," writes his private secretary, "I was present. Mr Sheridan wished to see Mr Fox, to which the latter reluctantly consented, requesting Lord Grey to remain in the room. The meeting was short and unsatisfactory. Mr Fox with more coldness than I ever saw him assume to any one, spoke but a few words." † "Fox's situation," writes Lord Sidmouth, on the 26th of July, "is, I fear, quite hopeless. His strength diminishes, and his bulk rather increases. The danger is not, however, supposed to be immediate." ‡ Two days afterwards, Lord Sidmouth, by Mr Fox's own invitation, was admitted to a personal interview with him in his sick chamber, and was thus enabled, from personal observation, to form his own opinion of the chances of recovery of one in whose physical condition not only England, but Europe, had reason to take the deepest interest. "He was in bed," writes Lord Sidmouth, "and I sat alone with him about ten minutes. He received me with great complacency and cordiality—I could almost say affection—but perhaps I judged a little from my own sensations.

Hei mihi! qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo
Hectore!

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* Trotter's Memoirs of Fox, pp. 414, 415. † Ibid. pp. 417, 420.
‡ Dean Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 431.

And yet my present impressions respecting him are not so utterly hopeless as they were before I saw him. His colour is very bad; but his voice was clear, and he seemed less oppressed than he was four weeks ago. He shook me by the hand at parting, and said he hoped I would come again."*

On the 7th of August Mr. Fox underwent, with great calmness and courage, the distressing operation of being tapped for his complaint. "The situation and feelings of Mrs. Fox," writes Lord Holland, "seemed to be the chief and indeed the only occupation of his mind on that occasion, and on every other where he spoke of the probability of his disease terminating fatally. He could speak of nothing regarding her without strong and sensible emotion. He contrived, however, to explain his wishes and expectations about a provision for her after his death. They were as nearly fulfilled as the state of the pension laws would admit. He had hardly finished what he had to say on that painful subject, when he abruptly said—'Now change the conversation, or read me the Eighth Book of Virgil.' I did so. He made me read the finest verses twice over; spoke of their merits, and compared them with passages in other poets, with all his usual acuteness, taste, memory, and vivacity."†

On the 29th of August, although still in a very precarious state, Mr. Fox was well enough to be removed to the beautiful villa of his friend the Duke of Devonshire at Chiswick. His heart, as his private secretary informs us, languished for his own fair home at St. Anne's Hill, in which all his hopes of future rest and happiness were centred, but his strength was unequal to the performance of the journey. Still, even the change to Chiswick afforded him infinite satisfaction. "The weather,"

* Dean Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 431.
† Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. i. pp. 264, 265.

writes Lord Holland, was "fine, and the garden, through which he was wheeled, and the pictures, and large apartments of that magnificent villa seemed to refresh his spirits. A remark of Bacon, quoted in the 'Spectator,' that poetry, sculpture, painting, and all the arts of imitation, relieve and soothe the mind in sickness, while other occupations fatigue and harass it, struck him exceedingly." * His private secretary also, who joined him at Chiswick, was pleased with the improvement which he imagined he perceived in his appearance. "The change of air and scene," he writes, "had already benefited him. I found him walking about and looking at the pictures. He wore a morning gown. His air was peculiarly noble and august. It was the Roman consul or senator, retired from the tumult of a busy city, and enjoying the charms of rural retirement, surrounded by the choicest productions of art. All care seemed removed from his mind." † "As I drew him round Chiswick garden, alternately with a servant"—continues his biographer—"his conversation was pleasant and always instructive, chiefly directed to objects of natural history, botany, &c. &c. A shade of melancholy sometimes stole across his countenance when objects reminded him of the late Duchess of Devonshire. At times, Mrs. Fox or Miss Fox walked beside the chair. His character was, as at St. Anne's Hill, ever amiable and domestic." ‡

Well, indeed, may Fox have been affected by whatever objects reminded him of the attached and fascinating female friend whom he had only recently lost, and frequently must those mournful recognitions have been forced upon him. The small bedchamber which he occupied—the same, it is said, in which George Canning afterwards breathed his last—opened into that bright Italian saloon, rich with

* Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. i. pp. [illegible]
† Trotter's Memoirs of Fox, p. [illegible] ‡ Ibid., p. [illegible]

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† Trotter's Memoirs of Fox, p. [illegible] ‡ Ibid., p. [illegible]

pictures and other gems of art, of which few who have visited the spot can fail to retain a vivid recollection. In that noble apartment, each time that the door of his own room opened, some object or other could scarcely have failed to recall to his memory the high-bred and beautiful woman, for whose loss, only five months previously, the death-bell of Chiswick Church had tolled, and whom he was so soon to follow to the grave. Everything in Chiswick House, in fact, was eloquent of the graceful tastes and accomplishments of its late mistress. "I continued," writes Trotter, "to read aloud every night [to Mr. Fox]; and as he occasionally dropped asleep, I was then left to the awful meditations incident to such a situation. No person was awake beside myself. The lofty rooms and hall of Chiswick House were silent, and the world reposed. In one of these melancholy pauses I walked about for a few minutes, and found myself involuntarily and accidentally in the late Duchess of Devonshire's dressing-room. Everything was as that amiable and accomplished lady had left it; the music-book still open; the books not restored to their places; a chair as if she had but just left it; and every mark of a recent inhabitant in this elegant apartment. The Duchess had died in May,* and Mr. Fox had very severely felt her loss. Half-opened notes lay scattered about. The night was solemn and still, and, at that moment, had some floating sound of music vibrated through the air, I cannot tell to what my feelings would have been wrought. Never had I experienced so strong a sensation of the transitory nature of life, of the vanity of a fleeting world."†

* The Duchess had died on the 30th of March, at Devonshire House, Piccadilly.—*Annual Register* for 1806, p. 524.

† Trotter's Memoirs of Fox, pp. 451, 452. It has been of advantage to the author of these volumes that he has visited many of the scenes of interest referred to in his pages. It has been his fortune to have traversed, not only the classical apartments at Chiswick which were the scenes of Mr. Fox's last illness and death, but to have been conducted by his venerable widow over the garden and grounds of St. Anne's Hill, and

On the 1st of September Mr. Fox underwent, a second time, the operation of tapping, the results of which were, for a few days, of so favourable a character as greatly to raise the hopes of his physicians. Those hopes, however, proved to be illusory; and consequently nothing remained to the many friends who surrounded him, but to do all in their power to alleviate his sufferings during the brief remaining time that he was destined to remain among them. Happily, his taste for literature afforded him gratification almost to the latest stage of his illness. For a long time past he had neither read the newspapers, nor had he expressed a desire to have them read to him. Books alone afforded him pleasure, and these were by turns read aloud to him by Lord Holland, Miss Fox, and Trotter. He was fond, too, as has been already mentioned, of works of fiction, which previously to his quitting Stable Yard, had been the productions which he had principally selected for perusal. Latterly, however, the 'Æneid,' Dryden's noble poem, 'Palamon and Arcite,' Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets,' Swift's poetry, and Crabbe's then unpublished poem, the 'Parish Register,' constituted his favourite reading. "I read," writes Lord Holland, "the whole of Crabbe's 'Parish Register' over to him in MS. Some parts he made me read twice. He remarked several passages as exquisitely beautiful, and objected to some few, which I mentioned to the author, and which he, in almost every instance,

there to have had pointed out by her to him the spots in which her beloved husband chiefly delighted; to have been a guest at the first Lord Melville's villa at Wimbledon, rich with many associations political as well as social, and in which, at the time when the author remembers it, Mr. Pitt's bedroom was still pointed out, and the words "Mr. Pitt's bell" were still attached to one of the bells in the servants' offices. It has chanced to be the author's fortune also, to have been an occasional guest at Mr. Pitt's own villa on Putney Heath, which witnessed his memorable death-scene; and, lastly, as an Eton boy, to have been present at the funeral of George the Third, in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor, and there to have looked down upon the coffin of the revered monarch whose long and eventful history the author, at that early period, little imagined that it was his destiny to write.

to which Mr. Fox's principles and taste would have been equally averse. When, however, Mr. Bouverie, a young man of excellent character, without pretension or hypocrisy, was in the house, I seconded her request, in the full persuasion that by so doing I promoted what would have been the wishes of Mr. Fox himself. His chief object throughout was to soothe and satisfy her. Yet repugnance was felt, and to some degree urged, even to this, by Mr. Trotter, who soon afterwards thought fit to describe with great fervour the devotion it inspired, and to build upon it many conjectures of his own on the religious tenets and principles of Mr. Fox. Mr. Bouverie stood behind the curtain of the bed, and in a faint but audible voice read the Service. Mr. Fox remained unusually quiet. Towards the end, Mrs. Fox knelt on the bed and joined his hands, which he seemed faintly to close with a smile of ineffable goodness, such as can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Whatever it betokened, it was a smile of serenity and goodness, such as could have proceeded, at that moment, only from a disinterested and benevolent heart; from a being loving and beloved by all that surrounded, and by all that approached him. From that period, and not till that period, Mrs. Fox bore her situation and apprehensions with some fortitude; and I have no doubt that her confidence in religion alone enabled her to bear the scene which she was doomed so soon to undergo.

"During the whole of the 13th of September no hopes could be entertained. For the last two hours of his existence his articulation was so painful and indistinct, that we could only occasionally catch his words, and then very few at a time. The small room in which he lay has two doors; one into the large saloon, the other into a room equally small adjoining. In the latter, Mrs. Fox, during the last ten days, constantly sat or lay down with-

out undressing. Her bed was within hearing, and, indeed, within a very few feet, of that of Mr. Fox. The doors were always open, for the weather was extremely hot. Of those who had access to him during the last melancholy days, it was, at any one moment, a mere accident who were actually in the bedchamber with him, who were pacing the adjoining rooms, or giving vent to their grief in the distant corners of the apartments. Each was actually by his bedside during some part of the day, and all, of at least seven or eight persons, were constantly within call of the room in which he lay, or in attendance upon him.

"The last words which he uttered with any distinctness," concludes Lord Holland, "were—'I die happy,' and 'Liz'—the affectionate abbreviation in which he usually addressed his wife. He attempted, indeed, to articulate something more, but we none of us could accurately distinguish the sounds. In a very few minutes after this fruitless endeavour to speak, in the evening of the 13th of September, 1806, he expired without a groan, and with a serene and placid countenance, which seemed, even after death, to represent the benevolent spirit which had animated it."* "Poor Fox," writes Lord Sidmouth, on the following day, "closed his career yesterday evening, and I trust is in peace. He suffered little, but was occasionally dejected. In general, however, he preserved his complacency, and smiled when any friend approached him, even when he could not converse."† "The giant race is extinct," writes Horner to Jeffrey, "and we are left in the hands of little ones, whom we know to be diminutive, having measured them against the others."‡

On the 10th of October Fox's remains were interred,

* Lord Holland's Memorials of the Whig Party, vol. i. pp. [illegible]
† Dean Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 434.
‡ Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, vol. i. p. [illegible]

with considerable state and solemnity, in Westminster Abbey, within eighteen inches of the grave of his illustrious rival, William Pitt.

> "Genius, and taste, and talent gone,
> For ever tombed beneath the stone,
> Where—taming thought to human pride—
> The mighty chiefs sleep side by side.
> Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,
> 'Twill trickle to his rival's bier.
> O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
> And Fox's shall the notes rebound.
> The solemn echo seems to cry—
> 'Here let their discord with them die.
> Speak not for those a separate doom
> Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb;
> But search the land of living men,
> Where wilt thou find their like again?'"
>
> —*Sir W. Scott, Marmion;* Introduction to Canto I.

According to the prejudiced account of Lord Holland—"The King had watched the progress of Mr. Fox's disorder, and could hardly suppress his indecent exultation at his death."* This is incorrect—we had almost added, cruelly incorrect. To quote the generous words of quite as good a Whig as Lord Holland—"We happen to know, from the certain testimony of the late Duchess of Gloucester—who was with her father when the message was delivered—that the King expressed, not satisfaction, but regret; and that he added the remark that the country could then ill afford to lose such a man."† The fact is, that the zeal and ability displayed by Fox, while last in office, combined with his natural powers of pleasing, his abandonment of the question of Catholic Emancipation, and his constant endeavours to win the confidence of his Sovereign, had gone far to reconcile the King to the eminent statesman, whom, of all the public men of his day, he had disliked the longest and perhaps dreaded the most. "Little did I think," were the King's remarkable words

* Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. ii. p. 49.
† Sir G. Cornewall Lewis's Administrations of Great Britain, p. 292.

to Lord Sidmouth, when he next saw him after the closing scene at Chiswick, "that I should ever live to regret Mr. Fox's death."* "I must here observe," said George the Fourth in the course of a conversation with the late Mr. Croker at Windsor, "that my father was perfectly satisfied, and even pleased, I may say, with Mr. Fox, in all their intercourse after he came into office."† Surely, after such evidences as these, Lord *Holland's apparently unsupported assertion falls to the* ground.

Lord Howick succeeded Mr. Fox as Foreign Secretary, Mr. Thomas Grenville was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Fitzwilliam, having resigned the Presidency of the Council, was succeeded by Lord Sidmouth. Lord Holland became Lord Privy Seal.

* Dean Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 435. † MS. Original.

CHAPTER LXIV.

The King's sight—His mode of living—The Catholic question revived—Termination of the Grenville Administration—Members of the Duke of Portland's Cabinet—Arrival of the Duchess of Brunswick—Death of the Bishop of Worcester—News of the retreat to Corunna.

At the commencement of the year 1806, the King's sight is reported to have so far improved as to enable him to distinguish objects at the distance of twenty yards before him. As the year however advanced, no further improvement appears to have taken place. "I do not think," writes Sir Herbert Taylor to William Marsden on the 19th June, "his sight is much worse than for some months past. It certainly has not made any progress; whilst the patience, resignation, and unutterable good humour with which he submits to so great a calamity, daily increase. Our friend, Sir Harry Neale,* will tell you that it is impossible to be with our good King, without finding every hour fresh cause to love and admire him."†

The state of the King's eyesight, as a matter of course, debarred him from pursuing those active habits of mind and body to which he had, almost all his life, been accustomed, and also in other respects necessarily changed the

* Admiral Sir Harry Neale, Bart., G.C.B., at this time a Lord of the Admiralty. See *ante*, p. 286.

† Brief Memoir of William Marsden, by himself, p. 127; privately printed.

complexion of his existence. "His Majesty's mode of living," according to a contemporary, "was not now quite so abstemious. He now sleeps on the north side of the Castle next the Terrace, in a roomy apartment not carpeted, on the ground floor. The room is neatly furnished, partly in a modern style, under the tasteful direction of the Princess Elizabeth. The King's private dining-room, and the apartments *en suite* appropriated to his Majesty's use, are all *on the same side of the Castle.* The Queen and the Princesses occupy the eastern wing. When the King rises, which is generally about half-past seven o'clock, he proceeds immediately to the Queen's saloon, where his Majesty is met by one of the Princesses, generally either Augusta, Sophia, or Amelia, for each in turn attend their revered parent. From thence the Sovereign and his daughter, attended by the Lady in Waiting, proceed to the chapel in the Castle, wherein divine service is performed by the Dean or Sub-Dean. The ceremony occupies about an hour. Thus the time passes until nine o'clock, when the King, instead of proceeding to his own apartment and breakfasting alone, now takes that meal with the Queen and the five Princesses. The table is always set out in the Queen's noble breakfasting-room, which has been recently decorated with very elegant modern hangings, and, since the late improvements by Mr. Wyatt, commands a most delightful and extensive prospect of the Little Park. The breakfast does not occupy half an hour. The King and Queen sit at the head of the table, and the Princesses according to seniority; etiquette in every other respect is strictly adhered to. On entering the room the usual forms are observed agreeable to rank.

"After breakfast the King generally rides out *on horseback* attended by his equerries. Three of the Princesses, namely Augusta, Sophia, and Amelia, are usually of the party. Instead of only walking his horse, his Majesty

now proceeds at a good round trot. When the weather is unfavourable, the King retires to his favourite sitting-room, and sends for generals Fitzroy or Manners to play at chess with him. His Majesty, who knows the game well, is highly pleased when he beats the former, that gentleman being an excellent player.

"The King dines regularly at two o'clock, the Queen and Princesses at four. His Majesty visits and takes a glass of wine with them at five. After this period public business is frequently transacted by the King in his own study, wherein he is attended by his private secretary, Colonel Taylor.

"The evening is as usual passed at cards in the Queen's drawing-room, where three tables are set out. To these parties many of the principal nobility, &c., residing in the neighbourhood are invited. When the Castle clock strikes ten the visitors retire. The supper is set out, but that is merely a matter of form, and of which none of the family partake. These illustrious personages retire at eleven to rest for the night. The journal of one day is the history of a whole year."*

1807. With the deaths of Pitt and Fox, the politics of the period cease to create any very exciting interest, as far at least as, with one or two exceptions, they are connected with the personal history of the Sovereign. The younger race of statesmen—the Percevals, the Cannings, and the Castlereaghs—who had succeeded to the places vacated by Pitt, Fox, Burke, North, and Sheridan, neither equalled the brilliant powers of their predecessors, nor was it likely that the King, at his time of life, should have been eager to form new political friendships, or engage in new political hostilities. Desirous of passing the remainder of his days in peace and quiet,† most willingly would he have left

* George the Third, his Court and Family, vol. ii. pp. 383-385.

† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 366.

the chief management of public affairs in the hands of his Ministers, but for the revival in the Cabinet of a question in which his religious feelings were deeply concerned, and which unhappily produced the effect of plunging him into the deepest affliction

By an act of Parliament passed in the year 1793, the King's Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland had been allowed to rise in the army as high as the rank of Colonel. The restriction of this boon to officers serving in Ireland, was of course an anomaly, and accordingly Lord Grenville, with apparently the full approval of the Cabinet, including the Lord Chancellor Erskine and Lord Sidmouth—both of whom were opposed as a general measure to Catholic Emancipation—proposed to insert a clause in the annual Mutiny Bill, extending the privilege to Catholic officers serving in the army in England and Scotland So moderate an extension of an already existing law would probably, under ordinary circumstances, have met with little opposition from the King Notoriously pledged, however, as was the majority of the present Cabinet to grant relief to the Irish Catholics, and morbidly sensitive *as was the King on the subject of his Coronation Oath*, it was only natural that he should regard the proposed innovation, not as a mere exceptional act of grace, but as the precursor of a series of concessions likely to be urged upon him by his Ministers "The King," he writes to Lord Spencer on the 10th of February, "cannot but express the most serious concern that any proposal should have been made to him for the introduction of a clause in the Mutiny Bill which would remove a restriction upon the Roman Catholics, forming, in his opinion, a most essential part of the question, and so strongly connected *with the whole, that the King* trusts his Parliament would never under any circumstances agree to it. His Majesty's objections to this

proposal do not result from any slight motive. They have never varied; for they arise from the principles by which he has been guided through life, and to which he is determined to adhere. On this question, a line has been drawn from which he cannot depart, nor can Earl Spencer be surprised that such should be his Majesty's feelings, as he cannot have forgotten what occurred when the subject was brought forward some years ago. He had hoped, in consequence, that it would never again have been agitated."* Nothing, surely, can be much more decided than this language, yet, only two days afterwards, we find the King—whether in deference to the judgment of the Cabinet, or else convinced by their arguments—gracefully conceding the point to his Ministers:—

The King to Lord Grenville.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, *February 12th*, 1807.

"The King has maturely considered what is stated in Lord Grenville's letter of the 10th instant, and the accompanying minute of Cabinet. He is disposed in this, as in all other instances, to do full justice to the motives which influence any advice which may be submitted to him by Lord Grenville and his other confidential servants; and however painful his Majesty has found it to reconcile to his feelings the removal of objections to any proposal which may have even the most distant reference to a question which has already been the subject of such frequent and distressing reflection, he will not, under the circumstances in which it is so earnestly pressed, and adverting particularly to what passed in 1791, prevent his Ministers submitting to the consideration of Parliament the propriety of inserting the proposed clause in the Mutiny Bill. While, however, the King so far reluctantly concedes, he considers it necessary to declare that he cannot go one step further; and he trusts that this proof of his forbearance will secure him from being at a future period distressed by any further proposal connected with this question.

"G. R."†

* Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. ii. p. 286; Appendix. See *ante*, p. 266.

† Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. ii. pp. 293, 294; Appendix. It

Up to this period, and indeed till the beginning of March, not the slightest conception appears to have been entertained, either by the King or by the anti Catholic members of the Cabinet, of any intention to propose to Parliament a further concession than that which has been already stated—namely, an extension to other parts of the United Kingdom of an Act hitherto confined to Ireland. Widely different, however, was the construction which the Liberal section of the Cabinet chose to put on the limited deviation from the statutes which had been reluctantly consented to by the King. "In point of fact," writes one of them, Mr Thomas Grenville, "we proposed, by a formal minute of Cabinet submitted to the King, to give all his subjects, of whatever persuasion, the capacity of serving in his army or navy, with no other exception or condition whatever than that of taking an oath of allegiance, these words being calculated to allow Catholics or Dissenters to enjoy the same military or naval rank as Protestants."* Accordingly, provisions to this effect were subsequently incorporated in a Bill which, on the 3rd of March, was laid by Ministers before the King, unaccompanied by any explanation on their part. In former days, the King would probably have scanned every word of the new provisions.† On the present

was the opinion of the late Sir C. Cornewall Lewis (*Essays on the Administration of Great Britain*, p. 241 note) that this and the preceding letter, as well as a subsequent one dated the 1[illegible]th of March, are so unlike the peculiar epistolary style of George the Third as to render it probable that, owing to the King's blindness, they were composed, not by himself, but by Sir Herbert. The reader, however, has by this time had a sufficient number of the King's letters laid before him, to enable him to form his own opinion on the subject.

* Letter from T. Grenville to the Marquis of Buckingham, March 14, 1807. Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. pp. 134, 1[illegible].

† Lord Eldon used to relate that he was one day reading over the heads of some Acts of Parliament in the royal closet, when the King thus interrupted him: "You are not acting correctly," he said; "you should do one of two things: either bring me down the Acts for my perusal, or say, as Thurlow once said to me on a like occasion. Having read several, he stopped and said—'It was all d——d nonsense trying to make me understand them, and I had better consent to them at once.'"—Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. v. p. [illegible].

occasion, however—whether from the defective state of his eyesight, or that he considered it superfluous to examine the documents after the strong veto contained in his note of the 12th of February—he returned the Bill unread, and consequently without offering any objection to the proposed enactment.* Thus indirectly armed with the royal authority, Lord Howick, the next day, Wednesday the 4th, sent off a despatch to Ireland, intimating that the King had complied with the wishes of the Cabinet, and that it was his intention therefore on the following day to move for leave to introduce the Bill into the House of Commons.

In the mean time, those members of the Ministry, who were opposed to Catholic Emancipation, had become no less alarmed at the largeness of the concessions which their colleagues proposed to submit to Parliament, than surprised at the unqualified assertions of Lords Grenville and Howick, that the King had deliberately sanctioned them. Over and over again, both in private conversation with those two lords, as well as at the meetings of the Cabinet, Lord Sidmouth expressed his conviction that the King was only half informed in the matter; at the same time earnestly urging the wisdom and propriety of removing all misapprehension from the royal mind, previously to submitting the measure to the consideration of Parliament. Argument and entreaty, however, proved equally unavailing; and consequently Lord Sidmouth not only intimated to Lord Grenville his intention of opposing the Bill during its progress through the House of Lords, but he also deemed it his duty to demand an audience with his Sovereign, for the purpose of warning him of the perils which, in his opinion, were arch 4. impending over Church and State. The King was at

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 333; Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. pp. 457, 458, 459.

first "much disturbed and agitated," but on Lord Sidmouth intimating to him that he should certainly oppose the measure in Parliament, even though it might have his Majesty's concurrence, he appeared to be better satisfied He also seemed to be much gratified when informed that the Speaker was also decidedly averse to the Bill *

So soon as Lord Sidmouth had taken his departure, Lord Howick entered the royal closet, when the king, at once, and "with strong emotion, expressed to him his displeasure at the uncandid manner in which he considered he had been treated Unfortunately, however, he was in so excited a state, and his speech so nervously rapid, that when Lord Howick, whose word it is impossible to doubt, quitted the royal presence, it was with the conviction that, great as was the King's "general dislike to the measure, he had virtually given it his assent It was a reluctant consent, he admitted, "or perhaps, he added, "it would be more correctly stated as not having withdrawn the consent which had been originally given † Under these circumstances, Lord Howick made no scruple of fulfilling his original intention of introducing his Bill into the House of Commons on the following day There, Perceval, as leader of the Opposition, at once attacked it as a most objectionable measure In his opinion, he said, it was one of the most dangerous measures that had ever been submitted to the judgment of the Legislature Its tendency was obviously to abolish all those tests which the wisdom of our ancestors had established for the safeguard of the Church of England, in fact the Bill was but another instance of that principle of innovation, which, for some

* Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. pp. [illegible] Lord Colchester's Diary, vol. ii. p. [illegible]

† Ibid. vol. ii. pp. [illegible] Pellew's Life of Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. [illegible]

time past, had been stealing in by degrees, and which was gradually growing stronger and stronger. The usual arguments and counter arguments were made use of on both sides of the House; the result being that the Bill was read for the first time.*

Distressed and indignant as the King must have been, on learning that, notwithstanding his protest, the Bill had been introduced into Parliament, he nevertheless, to the surprise of every one, manifested but little outward displeasure; neither did he communicate to a single person the steps which he intended to take in consequence of the treatment which he had experienced. True it is, that he told Lord Grenville, a day or two afterwards, that he never had consented, and never would consent to the measure,† hinting also significantly that, "with a view to the prevention of all future mistakes," it were better that the resolutions of his Ministers should be "stated on paper."‡ Beyond this, however, they were unable to obtain any insight into his feelings and intentions; nor were the leaders of the Opposition more enlightened than Ministers. So surprised, indeed, were they at the King's reticence, that they began to fear that he had grown "apathetic and insensible to what was passing." "We were totally in the dark," writes Lord Malmesbury, "as to what was going on."§ Under these circumstances, the Duke of Portland, at the instigation of Lord Malmesbury, deemed himself justified in taking the unconstitutional step of writing to the King, recommending him to resist the Bill; at the same time virtually offering himself as Lord Grenville's successor.‖

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. ix. col. 8.

† Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 371, 373; Pellew's Life of Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 462.

‡ Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. ii. p. 316.

§ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 366.

‖ Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 293.

The Duke's letter to the King, dated the 12th of March, is fortunately extant. In so "momentous a crisis," he writes, when the "most venerated and sacred barriers of the Constitution are being undermined and sapped for the purpose of introducing a new system into Church and State," he humbly considers it his duty to suggest to his Majesty the advisableness of taking the conduct of his affairs out of the hands of his present Ministers, and trusting to the nation to support him in the defence of the established laws of the realm. For himself, added the Duke, notwithstanding his years and infirmities little qualified him to take the lead in his Majesty's councils, yet, should his Sovereign require his services, he was prepared faithfully and zealously to stand by him to the end of his existence.*

The King, however, without waiting for the advice of the well-meaning, but officious Duke, had already decided upon his plan of action. On the preceding day, Wednesday, he had come up to London, and in M. an interview with his Ministers at Buckingham House, had explained his sentiments and intentions to them in language which it was impossible for them to misinterpret. To the Bill, he said, which had been laid by them before Parliament "he never could consent." He regretted, indeed, that he had ever given his sanction to any part of the measure, and should certainly hold it as his duty to let his sentiments on the subject be known to Parliament. The same day he expressed himself in similar "strong terms" to Lord Sidmouth.†

Under these circumstances, the Cabinet, in the first instance, thought proper to modify, and subsequently dropped altogether, the obnoxious Bill; accompanying

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. pp. 56[illegible], 570.

† Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. p. 133. Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 5[illegible]. Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 462.

their concession, however, with a proviso, which in the eyes of the King deprived their forbearance of all its merit. At a Cabinet meeting, held on Sunday the 15th, Lord Grenville, and such of his colleagues as were pledged to Catholic Emancipation, placed a minute on record, to the effect that not only did they individually retain their former convictions, but that they considered it "obviously indispensable to their public character that they should openly avow them, both on the present occasion and in the possible event of the discussion of the Catholic Petition in Parliament."* This important declaration, threatening as it did to re-open, at any moment, a question which of all others the King most dreaded, naturally occasioned him great distress and alarm. That same amiable consideration which had been shown for his religious scruples and increasing years by Pitt, and afterwards by Fox, the King was of opinion he had an equal right to expect from his present Ministers. Accordingly, he resolved either to obtain such a guarantee from them as would prevent their again troubling him on the question of Roman Catholic Relief, or else to do his best to fill their places with other and more straightforward advisers. "The King," writes his Majesty to Lord Grenville on the 17th of March, "considers it due to himself, and consistent with the fair and upright conduct which it has been, and ever will be his object to observe towards every one, to declare at once, most unequivocally, that upon this subject his opinions never can change; that he cannot ever agree to any concessions to the Catholics which his confidential servants may in future propose to him; and that, under

* Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. ii. p. 311, Appendix. Letter from Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland, dated 17th March, 1807, in the Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 296. It should be mentioned that the Anti-Catholic members of the Cabinet—Lords Erskine, Sidmouth, and Ellenborough—absented themselves from the meeting.

these circumstances, and after what has passed, his mind cannot be at ease unless he shall receive a positive assurance from them which shall relieve him from all future apprehension."*

To this demand on the part of the King, Ministers felt that it was impossible that they could yield; and consequently on the following day, Wednesday, Lord Gren- March
ville waited upon the King, and formally communicated to him the resolution of the Cabinet. The King inquired whether he was to regard it as their final one, and, on Lord Grenville answering in the affirmative—"Then," he said, "I must look about me."†

Thus terminated the brief Ministry known as the Grenville Administration, or, more familiarly, as "All the Talents." It was the opinion of many persons that a little more prudence on the part of its leaders might long have delayed its overthrow; indeed, Lords Auckland and Buckinghamshire went so far as to denounce it as a "political suicide." For himself, said the latter nobleman, he was used to being "buffeted about;" but, as for the Fox party in general—considering that they had been struggling for power for thirty years and had enjoyed it only one—it was very hard to be turned out by the "unaccountable measures" of Lords Grenville and Howick.‡ Sheridan, who was thus deprived of the lucrative appointment of Treasurer of the Navy, expressed the same opinion in bitter language. "I have known," he said, "many men knock their heads against a wall; but I never before heard of a man collecting bricks and building a wall for the express purpose of knocking out his own brains against it."§ It seems to have been pretty generally conceded at the time that, had Fox been alive, the King

* Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. ii. p. 316, Appendix.

† Life of Wilberforce, vol. iii. p. 307.

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 384.

§ Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 294.

would never have been pressed upon the subject of Roman Catholic Relief.

On Thursday, the 19th of March—the day after the interview between the King and Lord Grenville at Windsor—his Majesty summoned Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury to his presence. The audience to which he admitted them lasted for two hours and a half; from twelve o'clock till half-past two. It was his wish, as the King told them, that, before he signified his pleasure to them, they should be made acquainted with his reasons for the important and perhaps hazardous step which he had taken. He then laid before them the correspondence which had passed between him and his late Ministers, and minutely detailed the particulars of all that had passed during the recent transaction. He had *never*, he said, consented to the "more extended indulgences;" and, consequently, when Lord Howick quitted the royal closet on the 4th, he either misunderstood or else affected to misunderstand him. His Ministers, he added, had plainly intimated to him that they reserved to themselves the privilege of proposing in Parliament, at any future period, the removal of restrictions from the Roman Catholics *to any extent.* Under these circumstances he put it to the two lords whether, conversant as they were with his sentiments on the subject of his religious obligations imposed upon him by his Coronation Oath, they considered he could have acted otherwise than he had done? It was simply, he said, a measure of necessity. He had been left no other option but either to dismiss his Ministers, or forfeit his crown. As for what might be the possible consequences of the step which he had taken, the King took the responsibility entirely upon himself. At the outset of the matter, he said, he had made up his mind to communicate with no one single person on the subject. He had not even spoken of it to the Archbishop of Canter-

bury, though he knew him to be staunch on the subject of *Catholic Emancipation* These, and such other particulars as the King communicated to the two Lords, he desired that they would at once repeat to the Duke of Portland, signifying his pleasure to his Grace immediately to set about forming a new Administration "I have," he said, "*no restrictions, no exceptions, to lay on the Duke, no engagements or promises* He may dispose of everything, only," he added, laughingly—"Westmoreland *must* have a place" The King also suggested that, as a mark of respect for the memory of Mr Pitt, the Earl of Chatham might be consulted,* further throwing out a hope that a place might be found for Lord Charles Somerset, whose wife, it would seem, was a particular favourite of the Princesses † The interview being now at end, the two lords hastened to London, where they waited upon the Duke of Portland at Burlington House, and detailed to him the particulars of what had passed in the royal closet They further informed his Grace that not only had they never seen the King more collected or more composed, but never more cheerful ‡

Personally, the King and his late first Minister seem to have parted on very friendly terms For instance, we find Lord Grenville writing on the 18th to the Speaker of the House of Commons, that he has "experienced much personal kindness during this business from the King," § while, on the other hand, we find the King expressing himself no less satisfied with the conduct of Lord Grenville ‖ Moreover, to each of his other late Ministers, at

* In the new Ministerial arrangements Lord Westmoreland became Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Chatham Master General of the Ordnance.

† The Princesses appear to have formed her acquaintance at Weymouth, where Lord Charles, second son of Henry fifth Duke of Beaufort, and a General in the Army had been in command of the military force. Lady Charles Somerset was fourth daughter of William second Viscount Courtenay

‡ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol iv pp. [illegible]

§ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii, p. [illegible]

‖ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv pp. [illegible]

their farewell audiences, the King notified his satisfacti[illegible] at their conduct on every other occasion but that whi[illegible] had constrained him to dispense with their services.*

It was to be regretted that at this, the close of th[illegible] long and memorable hostilities between the King and th[illegible] leaders of the Whig party, the latter should not have al[illegible]lowed their intercourse to terminate thus amicably and gracefully. As usual, however, they made no scruple o[illegible] raising the old Whig war-cries of "King's friends," and "secret influence behind the Throne," which, forty years previously, George Grenville, the father of the discarded Premier, had found so serviceable in advancing the interests of his party. Lord Howick, in the House of Commons, even went so far as to charge Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury with having been the secret, malign, and insidious authors of the downfall of the late Administration, though nothing can be clearer than that it was not till the day *after* Lord Grenville had received his dismissal at Windsor that either of those two Lords held any communication whatever with the King on the subject nearest to his heart.† "My son, Lord Hawkesbury," writes Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland, "was as much surprised with this event as you could be. He never saw, nor had any communication with the King, though he knew his Majesty's affection for him, of which he was assured by some of the younger Princesses in accidental conversations. He left me on Wednesday the 18th of March, at eleven o'clock at night, not knowing or expecting anything. When he returned home he found a letter from Colonel Taylor, commanding him to be at Windsor at ten o'clock the next morning, with Lord Eldon."‡ Even if [illegible]

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 114.

† See *ante*, pp. 507, 508; and Twiss's *Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. [illegible]

‡ Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. [illegible] Had Lord Howick happ[illegible] read this passage, or had he been aware of the contemptuous [illegible] years previously, the King had spoken to Rose of Lord Hawkesbury's [illegible]

other evidence were forthcoming, this passage, combined with the King's own statement that he consulted no single person, would be sufficient to relieve him from the imputation of having been a mere puppet in the hands of others Fortunately, however, further satisfactory testimony is forthcoming "When,' writes Sir Herbert Taylor, "the change of Administration took place in 1807, his Majesty took counsel from himself only, in the communications with those with whom he differed, and I am warranted in saying that there existed not the slightest foundation for the reports which were then spread of advice secretly conveyed, or of influence behind the Throne, or of communication direct or indirect with his previous Ministers pending the discussion with 'the Talents,' or before their removal from the Administration had been established Nay, on that occasion he placed in my hands, unopened, a letter addressed to him by one of the leaders of the opposite party, and I have it to this day (1838), with a minute to that effect * The letter referred to by Sir Herbert Taylor was, in all probability, the same which the Duke of Portland addressed to the King on the 12th

The conduct of George the Third in thus discarding "The Talents' was regarded by many of the King's friends, no less than by his enemies, as an act of singular temerity and infatuation Certainly, in the event of his failing to secure the services of other Ministers, his situation must necessarily have proved a very humiliating one Friend and foe, at all events, were agreed in thinking that the chances were greatly against the King Lord Eldon, to

Secretary of State, he would doubtless have hesitated before he so publicly impugned the [illegible] of the King Lord Hawkesbury said the King to Rose, was not only "[illegible] for his situation" but he always [illegible]

Remarks on No. [illegible] of the Edinburgh Review pp. 1 [illegible]

whom the Great Seal was restored, questioned whether he should be permitted to retain it for a fortnight.* Lord Carlisle saw "nothing but misery at home, and rebellion in Ireland." † Unless concessions were made to the Roman Catholics, said Lord Grenville, "the country could not be saved." ‡ Other leading statesmen of the day, to the King's great annoyance, intruded their remonstrances upon him, either in writing or else in interviews in the royal closet. Lord Auckland, whom he had once loved, addressed a letter of expostulation to him, of which, however, no notice seems to have been taken.§ Neither did the advice personally pressed upon him by Lords Erskine and Hardwicke meet with more consideration. Lord Erskine, in a long harangue—to which the King, though "greatly agitated," listened without once interMarch 18. rupting him—had even the boldness to tell him that he could have taken no step more fatal than that of dismissing his late Ministers; that, in fact, he stood upon "the brink of a precipice." The King's reply was sufficiently concise. "My Lord," he said, "you are a very honest man, and I am very much obliged to you." ‖ To Lord Hardwicke, under similar circumstances, the King was much less complaisant. "Lord Hardwicke," writes Earl Temple to the Marquis of Buckingham, "went of his own accord, unsent for, to remonstrate against the steps which the King has taken, and to tell him that he could not answer for the safety of Ireland if he persisted in demanding of Ministers the pledge. The King bowed him out of the room, complimenting him ironically on

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. ii. p. 32.

† Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 301.

‡ Ibid., vol. iv. p. 300.

§ The letter will be found in the Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 300. Lord Auckland had formerly been held in great regard by the King, but had forfeited it, as he had also forfeited the regard of Lord North, by his political conduct, (*see ante*, p. 156.) At Cuffnells, in the autumn of 1804, we find the King speaking of Lord Auckland in strong terms of displeasure.—*Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 158, 193.

‖ Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly, vol. ii. pp. 187, 189.

his independence, and upon his belonging to no pa[rty,] and telling him that he could not depart from the re[so]lution he had taken to insist upon the pledge."*

In the midst of all this excitement, and while [his] friends were breathing nothing but misgiving and alar[m,] the King remained perfectly satisfied with the pa[rt] which he had taken. The fact is, that an experience [of] forty-seven years had imparted to him a knowledg[e] of human nature, and of the motives which influence[d] the conduct of public men, as well as a skill in measuring the relative strength of rival parties, in which he was excelled by none of his contemporaries. Thus, perilous as, in the eyes of his friends, was the part which he had played, and unavailing as it was in the eyes of his enemies, he had, in fact, taken a step which, for the next three and twenty years, was destined to exclude his old adversaries, the Whigs, from power. "All will come right yet," had been his sanguine words to Lord Sidmouth on the 25th of March.† Moreover, what was very unusual with the King in a season of great political excitement, his mental and bodily health remained unimpaired. Lord Malmesbury speaks of him, on the 31st, as being "most firm and quite well;"‡ and Lord Henley, a day or two afterwards, as being in perfect health and spirits, though his "sight is not improved."§

From the strong language in which the conduct of the King at this crisis has been impugned by the Whigs, it might be imagined that he alone had stood in the way of Roman Catholic emancipation. On the contrary, a spirit of bigotry and intolerance pervaded the length and breadth of the land. The ardour with which the Tories responded to their Sovereign, by raising their profitable old war-cry

* Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. p. 113.
† Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 113.
‡ Diaries, vol. iv. p. 388.
§ Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 322.

that "the Church was in danger," proved how entirely the prejudices as well as the affections, of the majority of the King's subjects, were in his favour. If Lord George Gordon had been still alive, said Harry Erskine to the Duchess of Gordon, his Lordship, instead of being committed to Newgate, would probably have been a member of the Cabinet.* From all parts of the kingdom—from London, Edinburgh, Bristol, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Exeter, Birmingham, Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Leeds, Manchester, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, of Trinity College Dublin, and St. Andrews, as well as from numerous counties and other cities and towns—continued to pour in, week after week, the most enthusiastic addresses to the King, thanking him for "his late wise, pious, and steady resolution," and the paternal care with which, in days of innovation and change, he had guarded the religious interests of his people.† If anything could have added to the enthusiasm of his subjects, it was the current belief that his late Ministers had either taken, or attempted to take, an unfair advantage of their royal master.

The new Cabinet was composed of the Duke of Portland, as Premier and First Lord of the Treasury; of Mr.

* Memoirs of Sir S. Romilly, vol. ii. pp. 193, 199.

† See the London Gazettes for 1807, pp. 425-894. Of the sons of George III., the most zealous applauder of his father's conduct in resisting the claims of the Roman Catholics appears to have been the late King of Hanover. The following extract of a letter, addressed by his Majesty to the late Mr. Croker on the 5th of January, 1845, evinces that a lapse of nearly forty years had made little difference in his principles and prejudices. "We are living in most extraordinary and strange times; and already I see that many of those things which I had prophesied in 1804 have come to pass. Still one circumstance has come to my knowledge, which I learned to-day by the public prints that arrived from England, which has not only shocked me, but disgusted me beyond all measure, and proves to me that ere long you will see the Host publicly carried in procession down St. James's Street, Pall Mall, &c.—namely, a Commission given at the Privy Council wherein the Catholic Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh, is publicly so recognized by Queen Victoria in Council. Is this not contrary to an Act of Parliament? I may be mistaken, but if my memory does not fail me I believe I am correct. Do pray clear my mind upon

Perceval, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, the Earl of Westmoreland, as Lord Privy Seal, Lord Hawkesbury, Canning, and Lord Castlereagh, as Secretaries of State for the Home, Foreign, and War Departments, Earl Camden, as President of the Council, Lord Mulgrave, First Lord of the Admiralty, Earl Bathurst, President of the Board of Trade, and Lord Eldon, as Lord Chancellor.

Probably the only member of the late Cabinet with whom the King parted with feelings of personal regret was Lord Sidmouth. It may be remembered how affectionately, in former days, the King had corresponded with that amiable nobleman, how great had been the interest which he took in his youthful family and domestic happiness, and how flattering had been the intimacy to which he admitted him. True it is, that this pleasing intimacy had been interfered with by Lord Sidmouth's abandonment of Pitt in his hour of difficulty, and afterwards by his unnatural coalition with the King's arch enemy, Fox. The conduct, however, of Lord Sidmouth during the three last exciting weeks had apparently obliterated every feeling of unkindness and displeasure from the mind of the King, and accordingly, we not only find him speaking in approving terms of his former First Minister both to Lords

the subject. Altogether our Established Church seems to be in the greatest jeopardy, and when a house is divided against itself it must soon fall to pieces. Bishops Blomfield and Phillpotts seem to me to be raving mad, and it is high time for the Government, if they are sincere in their wish to save the Established Church, to take strong and decided measures to put an end to all this scandal. The spirit of Popery is raising its head to a horrible degree all over the Continent, and my excellent friend and nephew the King of Prussia, through a false notion of toleration, is [illegible] giving way to the Catholic mania, so much so that the Protestant Princes of Germany are beginning to be grievously alarmed. I remain firm to my old principles, and gave the clearest proof of this by dismissing out of my service my Minister at the Court of Berlin, upon finding out he had become clandestinely a Papist; and [illegible] many Protestants look up to me for support. In short, if I had the good fortune of being able to have an hour's quiet conversation, I think I could convince you of many things highly interesting." MS. Original.

Eldon and Hawkesbury,* but, on his retirement from office, writing him the following friendly and forgiving letter:—

The King to Viscount Sidmouth.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, *March 26th*, 1807.

"Although the King is deprived of the services of Lord Sidmouth in the arrangement which he has made for the formation of a new Administration, his Majesty cannot release him from his situation without expressing to him the satisfaction which he has derived from the support which Lord Sidmouth has given to him throughout the progress of a transaction in which his decided principles and his feelings were at stake.

"The King is not less sensible of the readiness with which Lord Sidmouth complied with his wish that he should continue in office *for the last fortnight*, under circumstances which his Majesty is well aware must have been equally painful and embarrassing; and he desires Lord Sidmouth will be assured that he shall ever feel a sincere interest in his welfare.

"GEORGE R." †

Of the King's new advisers, the Minister whose return to office he doubtless greeted with the greatest satisfaction was Lord Eldon. Thus when, on the 1st of April, he delivered the Great Seal to him in the royal closet—"I wish and hope," he said, "you may keep it till I die."‡ His contest with his late Ministers, he told the new Chancellor, had, in his opinion, been a struggle for his throne. He was determined to be either the Protestant king of a Protestant country, or no king at all. "He is remarkably well," writes Lord Eldon the next day; "firm as a lion, placid and quiet beyond example in any moment of his life. I am happy to add that on this occasion his son, the Prince, has appeared to behave very dutifully

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 381.
† Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. ii. p. 466.
‡ Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. ii. p. 34.

to him. Two or three great goods have been accomplished, if his new ministers can stand their ground. First, the old ones are satisfied that the King, whose state of mind they were always doubting, has more sense and understanding than all his [late] Ministers put together. They leave him with a full conviction of that fact. Secondly, the nation has seen the inefficiency of 'All the Talents,' and may, perhaps, therefore, not injure us much by comparison."*

On Tuesday, the 7th of July, arrived in England an interesting relic of a former reign—Augusta, Duchess of Brunswick, sister of George the Third, and mother of Caroline Princess of Wales and of Duke William Frederick, "Brunswick's fated chieftain," who fell at the battle of Quatre Bras. More than forty-three years had passed since, in the great council-chamber of St. James's Palace, the King had given her away in marriage to Charles, Hereditary Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel; and since then, we believe, the brother and sister had met but once.† Her near relationship to the King, the recent death of her husband Duke Charles, from the wounds he received at the battle of Jena; and lastly, the fact of her having been driven from her home in Brunswick by the forces of Napoleon, rendered the venerable exile an object of considerable interest in England. From Gravesend—at which place she landed from the 'Clyde' frigate, saluted by the guns from the forts on each side of the river—she proceeded to the residence of her daughter, the Princess of Wales, at Blackheath. There, the next day, she had the pleasure of embracing her charming grand-daughter, the Princess Charlotte, who was brought from Warwick

* Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 34.

† See ante, vol. i. pp. [illegible]. The Duchess, who was the eldest child of Frederick Prince of Wales, was born on the 31st of July, 17[illegible], and was married to the Duke of Brunswick on the [illegible] of January [illegible]. She died in England on the [illegible] of March 1813, in her [illegible] year and was buried in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor.

House to visit her; and on the following day, Thursday, the King arrived from Windsor and partook of an early dinner with the Duchess and his daughter-in-law. The meeting between the brother and sister is said to have been an affecting one. Three days afterwards, on Sunday the 12th, Speaker Abbot was introduced to the Duchess at a dinner-party given by the Princess of Wales at Blackheath. "The Duchess," he writes, "who is about a year older than the King, exceedingly resembles him in countenance, and still more in conversation and manner. She talked to everybody, and seemed to know everybody." When, some days afterwards, the Speaker called with Mrs. Abbot at Blackheath, he again found himself in company with the Duchess. "The Princess of Wales," writes the Speaker, "met us in an outer room, and showed us into a small dressing-room, where the Duchess of Brunswick was sitting in a sick chair, having been indisposed for a day or two. We stayed about half an hour. The Princess of Wales left the room first, and the Duchess of Brunswick continued the conversation for some time longer. Her subjects were chiefly her dread of Buonaparte following her here; her perpetual dislike of all Germans; the persons she had known in England before her marriage; and the anecdotes of George the Second's Court. She had Coxe's 'Memoirs' before her."* The work which the Duchess was perusing was doubtless Archdeacon Coxe's voluminous 'Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole,' which would naturally be interesting to her as containing, among a mass of dry political matter, some curious private particulars relating alike to her own family and to persons whom she had known in her youth. The Duchess would seem to have been fond of detailing the gossip of the past. Lord Malmesbury, who was thrown much into her society during his

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 126, 128. Annual Register for 1807, p. 460.

mission to Brunswick in 1794, mentions more than one occasion of her having entertained him with her recollections and anecdotes of former days *

The following letters, written by the King in 1807, evince that, notwithstanding the advance of years, and his almost total loss of sight, he continued to take his accustomed interest in public business and in the welfare of his kingdom Lord Castlereagh, to whom they were addressed, was now Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs The letters were dictated by the King to Sir Herbert Taylor

The King to Viscount Castlereagh

WINDSOR CASTLE, *August 15th* 1807

"The King approves of the proposal, submitted by Lord Castlereagh, that the disposable force now in the Mediterranean should be withdrawn, with the exception of a garrison of 8000 men, to remain for the defence of Sicily His Majesty, however, conceives that, as this force is no longer required for offensive purposes in the Mediterranean, it would be far more advisable to bring home the brigade of Guards and some of the finest corps, than to station them for any time at Gibraltar, where they would suffer materially from crowded quarters and want of fresh provisions It must also be recollected that the garrison of Malta has been more or less drained, and will require making up, and when the losses in Egypt and other casualties, are adverted to, the numbers to be brought home, after leaving 8000 effective men in Sicily, cannot be very considerable

"The regiments may be much better completed, and prepared for any service at home, than in Gibraltar, and as the brigade of Guards are not applicable to colonial service, it would be useless to shut them up in Gibraltar, and equally unadvisable to leave so fine a corps for defensive purposes in Sicily

"GEORGE R †

The King to Viscount Castlereagh

WINDSOR CASTLE *December 25th*, 1807

"Upon consideration of the instructions to M General Spencer, which Lord Castlereagh has submitted, the King finds

* Lord Malmesbury s Diaries vol. iii. pp 1 0 151, 1oo 1o8 191 1 ? † MS Original

himself under the necessity of recalling to his mind that the German Legions were raised for European service only, and cannot therefore be applied to that now pointed out for M. General Spencer's corps. His Majesty does not object to the British regiments being sent to any of the Western Isles, but desires that the battalions of the German legions may either be left at Gibraltar, or proceed to Sicily.

"GEORGE R." *

1808. On the 28th of May, 1808, died, at his episcopal palace at Hartlebury, in his eighty-ninth year, the King's old friend and correspondent Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester. His Diaries, to which he continued to make additions till within six weeks of his decease, mention a flattering visit paid to him on the 26th of the preceding month of September by his old pupil, the Prince of Wales, accompanied by his brother the Duke of Sussex, and by Lord Lake, the recent conqueror of Scindia and Holkar. The venerable prelate, after having descended gracefully and without pain into the vale of years, expired in his sleep, unattended by any of the "painful family of death." His remains, agreeably with his own directions, were interred in the churchyard at Hartlebury.† It was remarked by George the Third of Bishop Hurd, on his first presentation at Court, that he "thought him more naturally polite than any man he had ever met with."‡

From the time of the dismissal of the Grenville Administration, till the commencement of the year 1809, no event of any importance, either domestic or political, seems to have disturbed the even tenor of the King's existence. He was still exempted from total want of vision; his health continued to be good, and his spirits apparently even. On the 20th of January, 1808, Speaker Abbot inserts in his Diary: "Went to the levee at the Queen's House. The King talked to me at length about the forms

* MS. Original. † Bishop Hurd's Works; Life and Diaries, vol. i. pp. xxvi.-xxvii.
‡ Cradock's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 187.

of the House of Commons, and the conversion of the Speaker's House in Palace Yard. He looked remarkably clear and well; rather grown large within the last twelvemonth; very cheerful."* His habits, except that he seems to have kept earlier hours than ever, continued nearly the same as when we last described them. He rose at six o'clock in the morning, and at nine sat down to breakfast with the Queen and the Princesses. He usually dined by himself on a plain joint at one o'clock, and afterwards joined the royal ladies at their dessert. As in former days, music, conversation, and cards passed away the evenings, and at ten o'clock the King and Queen retired to rest. When the Speaker again attended the levee on the 11th January, 1809, he discovered no change for the worse in his royal master. "Went to the levee," he writes; "the King talked to me about long speeches, long sittings, and public and private business, with his usual cheerfulness, and appeared to be in remarkably good health and countenance. There was a Council after the levee."†

Unhappily, however, many sorrows were in store for the venerable monarch. The years 1809 and 1810 not only brought loss of vision, and incipient insanity, but they were in other respects among the most chequered of his existence. The first event which threw a gloom over the former year, was the arrival in England, on the 23rd of January, of the news of the calamitous retreat of 180
the British army to Corunna, and of the death of the gallant Sir John Moore. The different effect which the intelligence produced on the minds of the King, and of the several members of the Cabinet, is described by Lord Bulkeley in a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated the 26th of January: "Perceval and Castlereagh take

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 136. † Ibid., p 162.

the thing very coolly. Mulgrave and Westmoreland bawl out faction. Camden shakes his head like Lord Burleigh in the 'Critic.' Canning is like a madman, they say. Bathurst and Chatham full of *sang froid*, and so is Eldon. Liverpool they say looks sad, wretched, and thoughtful. But at head-quarters* there is true courage and firmness, supported by a mind conscious of virtue, patriotism, and rectitude."†

* The King. † Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. p. 311.

CHAPTER LXV.

Charges of corruption brought against the Duke of York by Colonel Wardle—The Duke resigns the Commandership-in Chief — Walcheren Expedition — Illness and death of the Duke of Portland—Distress of the King at the prospect of Lord Grenville returning to office and reviving the question of Catholic claims—Perceval becomes Prime Minister—Celebration of the fiftieth year of the King's reign—Court gossip—Sellis's attempt to assassinate the Duke of Cumberland—Improved conduct of the Prince of Wales—The King's habits, and patient endurance of affliction.

At this time, an unhappy transaction occurred, which, involving as it did the misconduct of one of the King's sons and the honour of the Royal Family, very naturally occasioned him the deepest distress. On the 27th of January, 1809, four days after the arrival of the news of the battle of Corunna, Colonel Guillym Lloyd Wardle, Member of Parliament for Oakhampton, and formerly Colonel of the Welsh Fusileers, brought forward in the House of Commons his famous charges against the Duke of York, of corrupt practices in the administration of his power and patronage as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. The circumstances which originated those charges may be briefly related. About the year 1803, the Duke of York had formed a connexion with a married woman of the name of Mary Ann Clarke, a person of considerable beauty and powers of captivation. During their intimacy, which lasted till May, 1806, the Duke not only supported her in an expensive establishment in London, but had the weakness and bad taste to consent to her taking a country-house in the neighbourhood of his own residence, Oatlands Park, where she had the effrontery to appear at the village-church when the Duchess of York was present. Of

the previous history of this lady, it is sufficient to say that her origin was a humble one, and that, in the interval between her separation from her husband and the commencement of her intimacy with the Duke of York, she had been under the protection, at different times, of at least two other men of pleasure.

In the opening speech, in the House of Commons, in which Colonel Wardle specified the different offences which he undertook to substantiate against the head of the army, he not only charged the Duke with having allowed his mistress to sell military commissions for her own advantage, but he also alleged that his Royal Highness had participated in the proceeds of her infamous traffic. Charges seemingly so outrageous, were naturally listened to by the public with much incredulity, and by the King were indignantly discredited. In regard to his Ministers, so completely did they share the King's perfect reliance in his son's innocence, that, instead of attempting to arrest inquiry, or, at all events, allowing the investigation of the charges to take place before a secret Committee of the House of Commons, which was all that Colonel Wardle originally demanded, they most unwisely insisted that, for the Duke's sake, the inquiry ought to be conducted in the most open and public manner possible, and further that the examination of the several witnesses should take place before a Committee of the whole House. The result of their arriving at this decision proved to be most calamitous. "It was obvious," as Sir Samuel Romilly points out, "that such a proceeding must be most mischievous to the Duke. Though no violation of the law might be established against him, yet the mere exposing to the public that he, who was mistakenly supposed by most persons to be leading a moral, decent, and domestic life, was entertaining at great expense a courtesan, the wife too of another

man, and a woman who had risen from a very low situation in life, could not fail to do him irreparable mischief in the public estimation."*

During nearly two months that the Parliamentary inquiry lasted, the House of Commons, day after day, presented a most exciting, and not very creditable scene. The spectacle of a splendidly and fashionably attired courtesan constantly presenting herself at the Bar of Parliament, for the purpose of implicating the Second Prince of the Blood, and the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, as a sharer in her nefarious traffic, was without a parallel in this, or perhaps in any other country. Witnesses of both sexes, of very exceptionable character, appeared day after day at the Bar of the House. Details of the most scandalous description offended the grave, as much as they entertained the gay. The oldest Members of Parliament never remembered to have seen the House so constantly well attended, as during this celebrated inquiry. The idlers at White's and the frequenters of the Opera—whom at other times it had been found difficult to drag from the claret bottle or the Ballet to vote even on the most important questions—were now unfailing in their Parliamentary attendance. "Sad work!" writes Wilberforce in his Diary; "no apparent sense in the House of the guilt of adultery, only of the political offence." And again he writes: "What a scene are we exhibiting to the world! It was no more than was to be foreseen by any one who was ever so little acquainted with the House of Commons. We are alive to the political offence, but to the moral crime we seem utterly insensible; and the reception which every *double entendre* meets in the House, must injure our character greatly with all religious minds."†

The particular days on which the frail heroine of these dramatic proceedings appeared to give evidence, were

* Life of Romilly, vol. ii. p. 264. † Life of Wilberforce, vol. iii. p. 402.

those, of course, which attracted the fullest attendance of Members. Her entrance into the House seldom failed to create a commotion. If she happened to be in a state of agitation, cries of "A chair," "A chair," "A chair," resounded from all sides, and the Chairman politely invited her to be seated.* Her good looks and elegant appearance—the calm courage which she displayed while subjected, day after day and hour after hour, to the most searching cross-examinations from Crown Advocates and Ministers of State—her happy powers of repartee—and lastly, the native wit with which she foiled the cunning of the lawyers and turned the laugh against the insolent—produced the not unnatural effect of exciting an extraordinary interest on her behalf. "The woman is very clever," writes Earl Temple, "and completely foiled Gibbs† in a very severe cross-examination of three hours."‡ Even the rigid Wilberforce seems to have been half fascinated by her attractions. "House," he writes, "examining Mrs. Clarke for two hours. Cross-examining her in the Old Bailey way. She elegantly dressed, consummately impudent, and very clever. Clearly got the best in the tussle. A number of particulars let out about life, mother, children."§ Again he writes, some time afterwards—"Curious to see how strongly she has won upon people."‖ One of her retorts was admirable. A certain Member having bluntly asked her—"Pray, Madam, under whose protection are you now?" the insulted woman, instead of condescending to answer the offensive question direct, calmly and gracefully addressed herself to the Chairman: "At present, Sir," she said, "I believe I am under *yours*."

Yet, after all, nothing could be much more disgraceful

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. xii. col. 446.

† Sir Vicary Gibbs, then Attorney Gener[al] ... *Chief Justice of the* Common Pleas.

‡ Buckingham ...

§ *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 402.

than these scenes. Public morality, the dignity of Parliament, the general question of the trustworthiness of men in high office, the honour and interests of the army, the credit of the Royal Family, and the mental as well as bodily health of the King, were all, more or less, affected by this important investigation. Nay, in those days, when the spirit of Republicanism was still abroad, the inquiry threatened to shake the throne to its very foundations. In this light the affair seems to have been regarded by the Prince of Wales, whose alarm is described by Lord Temple as having been "very great," * and whose conduct, probably in consequence of that alarm, would seem to have been very little to his credit. At the commencement of the inquiry, he had generously written a letter, which was intended to be shown to different Members of Parliament, in which he had stated that he should "consider an attack upon the Duke as an attack upon himself."† The tide, however, of public opinion, no sooner turned against the Duke, than, dreading lest a share of the odium might fall upon himself, he expressed his determination "not to interfere, by his friends or opinions, in the discussion," but to maintain "a state of neutrality."‡ He considered, he told Lord Temple, that "his brother had brought all this upon himself; that he had behaved shabbily to the woman to whom he had promised an allowance, which, small as it was, he had not paid." § The Prince then referred to a letter which the Duke of York had recently addressed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in which, "in the most solemn manner, on his honour as a Prince," he had not only asserted his inno-

* 7.

William Adam, had promised his mistress an annuity of 400*l.* a year, which, after having been paid for a certain time, he had thought proper to withdraw. See Parliamentary Debates, vol. xii. col. 294 and 302.

cence, but denied ever having had the "slightest knowledge or suspicion" of the corrupt practices which had been shown to have been in existence.* This assurance the Prince treated with the contempt which it may, or may not, have deserved. A gentleman's word, he said, was sacred; and how could his brother talk of his "honour as a Prince," when he could not keep his word as a gentleman? He was determined, he added, not to interfere either in one way or the other. He had been no party to his brother's irregularities; he had never made the acquaintance of any of the women with whom his brother had become connected; he disliked such society; *chacun à son goût;* he thought his own taste, in regard to women, was better than the Duke's.† As for the Duke himself, he is said to have been "dreadfully affected" by the whole business.‡ He even went so far, as Speaker Abbot informs us, as to discard Mrs. Carey, the reigning sultana who had succeeded Mrs. Clarke in his libertine affections."§

In the mean time, the extraordinary disclosures which were constantly transpiring, continued to excite an indescribable sensation both in and out of Parliament. "The joke among the people in the streets," writes the Speaker, "is, when they toss up halfpence, not to cry 'Heads and Tails,' but 'Duke and Darling.'"‖ "The scene which is going on in the House of Commons," writes Mr. W. H. Fremantle to Lord Buckingham, "is so disgusting, and at the same time so alarming, that I hardly know how to describe it to you. Every day and every hour adds to the evidence against the Duke of York, and it is quite impossible but he must sink under it."¶ So great was the excitement which constantly prevailed in the House of

Feb. 16.

* The Duke's letter is printed in the Annual Register for 1809, p. 131.
† Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. p. 326.
‡ Ibid., p. 315.
§ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 167.
‖ Ibid., vol. iv. p. 174.
¶ Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. p. 318.

of every sort—for votes in the House upon particular questions, Pitt's Defence Bill, &c.—for every sort of military appointment—is laid open; a statement of particular facts which could only have come to her knowledge from the Duke of York; repeated directions to Sandon to call at the office, where he will find such and such official letters for him." *

In the mean time, while a shameless woman was entertaining the House of Commons with her profligate confessions and repartees, the state of the Royal Family was greatly to be pitied. "I hear," writes Lord Bulkeley to
Feb. 18. Lord Buckingham, "the Royal Family at Windsor are wretched and unhappy;" and again Mr. Fremantle writes
Mar. 24. to the Marquis—"Every part of the Royal Family at Windsor, excepting the King, is overwhelmed with despair at the Duke of York's business. The Queen very ill, and two of the Princesses dying. The King is said to bear it very firmly; but I have reason to believe he is indignant at his Ministers, for having suffered it to come forward at all. The Duke of York, I am told by those who have seen much of him since, is quite sunk under it." † The King, however, stoical as he appeared to be, evidently suffered no less than the other members of his family. The circumstance of his eldest son standing aloof, at a time when so threatening a cloud was hanging over his family, seems to have especially affected him. In "great agony of mind" he sent to urge him to reconsider his determination. Neutrality, he said, was nothing more nor less than condemnation. The Queen also wrote to the Prince to the same effect. The honour of the Royal Family, she said, as well as the health, and perhaps the life of the King, were in his hands. The Prince, however, was not to be diverted from the resolution which he had formed.

* Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. p. 317. Sandon was an officer in the Royal Waggon Train. Parliamentary Debates, vol. xii. col. 182.

† Buckingham Papers, vol. pp. 322, 335.

He would send down, he said, the Keeper of his Privy Purse, Colonel McMahon, to vote for the Duke, but with regard to any other votes which it was in his power to influence, he positively refused to interfere. "Such," writes Lord Temple, "is the nature of the man!" *

What remains to be told of this unhappy transaction may be briefly related. That the Duke had allowed his mistress to interfere in the award of military promotions and exchanges—that he had granted commissions on her recommendations, and that he was cognisant of her having received money from those whom she had so recommended—was placed beyond a question. The mere fact of his having conferred a commission in the army upon a man whom it was proved in evidence that he well knew to be the servant of his mistress, was, as Mr. Fremantle describes it to Lord Buckingham, such "a scandalous and flagrant a misuse of his power," † and so outrageous an insult to the military profession, that the Duke was evidently unfitted to remain at its head. But whether, on the other hand, he had been guilty, to use his own words in his letter to the Speaker, of "a corrupt participation in any of the infamous transactions" which had been brought to light—or even whether he had been aware at the time, as asserted by Mrs. Clarke in her evidence, that the profits of her nefarious brokerage went towards the support of the establishment which he had provided for her—are points on which the Duke certainly deserves the benefit of a doubt. At all events, the House of Commons adopted a charitable view of the question, and exonerated him from the charge of personal corrup- Mar. 17.
tion by a majority of eighty-two votes.‡ The same

* Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. p. 331. † Ibid., vol. iv. p. 319.

‡ The numbers were 278 against 196. An amendment proposed by Sir Thomas Turton charging the Duke with the knowledge of corrupt practices, was lost by 334 votes against 135.—*Annual Register* for 1809, pp. 149, 141.

day the Duke resigned his appointment as Commander-in-Chief.*

The King to the Duke of Portland.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *March* 18*th*, 1809.

"The King acquaints the Duke of Portland that he has this day reluctantly accepted the resignation of the Duke of York, which has been conveyed to his Majesty in a letter of which he has sent the copy to Mr. Perceval, and which he will, of course, communicate to his colleagues.

"Under these painful circumstances, his Majesty's attention has been directed to the necessary arrangements for the future administration of the army, and, after consulting the Army List, the King has satisfied himself that General Sir David Dundas, is, of all those whose names have occurred to him, the fittest person to be intrusted with the chief temporary command, both from habits of business, respectability of character, and from the disposition which his Majesty is convinced he will feel to attend strictly to the maintenance of that system and those regulations, which, under the direction of the Duke of York, have proved so beneficial to the Service.

"It does not appear to his Majesty that any change will be required in the constitution of the Commander-in-Chief's office, or in the various official establishments connected with it.

"GEORGE R."†

The King, as age and blindness increased upon him, seems to have grown more and more averse to the transaction of business and the discussion of political matters.‡ As the year, however, advanced, the disastrous progress

* The Duke of York was re-instated in the office of Commander-in-Chief by his brother, the Prince Regent, on the 25th of May, 1811. On the 6th of the following month Lord Milton moved in the House a Resolution to the effect that it "has been highly improper and indecorous in the advisers of the Prince Regent to have recommended to his Royal Highness the re-appointment of the Duke of York to the office of Commander-in-Chief." The motion was defeated by 296 votes against 47.—*Life of Romilly*, vol. ii. pp. 391-2.

† Castlereagh Letters and Despatches, edited by Charles Marquis of Londonderry, vol. viii. p. 199. Sir David Dundas, Bart., was appointed Commander-in-Chief on the 25th of March, 1809, which office he filled till May, 1811, when the Duke of York was re-appointed. Sir David died in February, 1820.

‡ Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. p. 351.

certain revival of the Catholic claims as a Government measure—could scarcely fail to occasion the greatest distress to the King. If anything could have added to that distress, it was the unconquerable dislike which, since the time that Lord Grenville—to use the King's own words —had attempted to "force his conscience" he had conceived for that nobleman. He had borne with fortitude, he said, many indignities, and many most disagreeable embarrassments, during his life, but if Lord Grenville were again forced upon him, he thought his nerves would be unequal to "such an endurance."* More than once, during the last two years, the King had told Rose that Lord Grenville was more obnoxious to him than Fox had ever been.† Doubtless Lord Grenville's unconciliating manners, and unbending nature, had much to do with the King's repugnance. Lord Grenville himself admits, in one of his letters to his brother Lord Buckingham, that he is not "competent for the management of men."‡

How ill at ease at this crisis was the heart of the afflicted King, we have ample evidence to prove. To Lady Eldon the Chancellor writes on the 14th of September: "I am just going to a meeting of such of us as have hearts feeling for the King, to see what can possibly be done, as all attempts to bring matters to rights again have finally failed. I cannot, for one, see a ray of hope that anything can be arranged which can have any endurance; —if, indeed, any arrangement whatever can be made. And yet the poor King, in language that makes one's heart bleed for him, urges that we should not run away from him. My head and heart are perplexed and grieved for

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 338. † Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 390, 391.

‡ One of the few points on which the King and his eldest son agreed, seems to have been in a mutual dislike of Lord Grenville. "Lord Cholmondeley," writes Lord Bulkeley, "told me, at Brooks's, last year, that the Prince could not bear Lord Grenville because he could not talk b——y. How Perceval passes that ordeal I should like to know."—*Letter to Lord Auckland, December 28th,* 1811.—*Auckland Correspondence,* vol. iv. pp. 378, 389.

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my old master's sake."* Again, Lord Eldon writes to Lady Eldon on the following day—"If I knew that I was to go out, I would come to you instantly, and stay over Christmas. If I knew I was to stay in, I could then know when and how I was to see you. Some of the plans proposed are what I do most greatly abhor, and I think they won't succeed. I have offered my office to the King and told him—for I write constantly when I don't see him—my likings and dislikings. 'For God's sake,' he says, 'don't you run away from me! Don't reduce me to the state in which you formerly left me. You are my sheet-anchor!' I fear the effects of his agitation and agony, and I do pray God to protect him in this his hour of distress."†

The expedient which Ministers, after repeated deliberations among themselves, decided upon proposing to the King, was a coalition with Lords Grenville and Grey.‡ They were fully aware, as they admitted to their friends, how great would be the King's repugnance to such a measure, but the advice, they said, was the best which they had to offer him. Accordingly on Tuesday, the 19th, Perceval laid before the King, at Windsor, a Minute of the Cabinet, explaining their motives for recommending a procedure which they knew to be so unpalatable to their Sovereign. The King, as Perceval informed the Speaker, showed himself "extremely adverse to the proposed overture," but nevertheless consented to take it into his consideration.§ It was his intention, he said, to commit his sentiments to paper, at the same time he desired that a meeting of the Cabinet should be convened for the follow-

* Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 93. † Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 93, 94.

‡ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 215, 216.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 217. Lord Colchester represents the interview between the King and Perceval to have taken place on a *Monday*, which would fix it to have been either on the 18th, or the 25th. The interview, however, clearly took place on Tuesday, the 19th.—*See Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 97.

ing Thursday, the 21st, when the document should be laid before his Ministers, for their information and advice.* When, on the intervening day, Wednesday, Lord Eldon saw the King, he found him greatly agitated and undecided. "After I finished my letter yesterday," he writes to Lady Eldon on the 21st, "I went to the levee, and I had an audience of the King for a full hour. His agitation and uneasiness were such as have left me perfectly agitated and uneasy ever since I left him, though I thank God I am quite well. I dare not commit to paper what passed."†

The Cabinet met on the appointed day, the 21st, but to their surprise without receiving any letter from Windsor. "We waited at our meeting to a late hour," writes Lord Eldon, "but no paper came from the King. I infer from this that he is in a most unhappy state of difficulty and knows not what to do; and I greatly fear that something of the very worst sort may follow upon the agitation." On the following day the Cabinet met again; the promised communication from the King, having in the interim been received. "After I wrote to you yesterday," continues the Lord Chancellor, "I went to the meeting, and I there found that Perceval had received the King's paper, which is one of the finest compositions, and the most affecting, I ever saw or heard in my life. After discussing the strength which any Administration could have that did not include Grenville and Grey, he acknowledges that there would be a weakness in it, which a sense of duty to his people calls upon him, by every personal sacrifice,' not affecting his honour and conscience, to endeavour to avoid. He therefore permits his present servants to converse with them upon a more extended Administration than his present servants could themselves make; but declares previously and solemnly

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. ii. p. 97. † Ibid.

that if any arrangement is offered to him which does n[ot] include such a share of his present servants as shall effectu[-] ally protect him against the renewal of measures whic[h] his conscience cannot assent to, that he will go on with his present servants at all hazards, throwing himself upon his people and his God—his people whose rights, he says, he never knowingly injured, and his God to whose presence he is determined, whenever he is called hence, to go with a pure conscience He predicts, however, that though he, in duty to his people, submits to this mortifying step, they—Grenville and Grey—will not allow any effect to it, and then addresses himself, in the most pathetic strains, to all his present servants, calling forth all their courage, their resources, and the discharge of their duty to him "*

During the King's interviews with Perceval at this time, he not only repeatedly expressed his determination to resist the claims of the Roman Catholics, but reiterated the asseverations which he had made in former days, that sooner than yield to them, he would abandon his throne † Why, he asked, did not Lords Grenville and Grey follow the generous example of Mr Pitt, by promising to refrain from persecuting him with the question during the re[-] mainder of his life? Mr Pitt, he said, had not only given him that promise, both verbally and in writing, but had guaranteed to oppose the measure in Parliament, by whomsoever it might be brought forward The convic[-] tions of the two lords, he added, were but the convictions of yesterday, while on his part, he was required to abandon the *fixed* principles of a whole life ‡

As the King had anticipated, Lords Grenville and Grey [re]jected the overtures which were made to them ;§ the

* Twiss's Life of Lord [illegible], v [illegible] 94, 95
† Lord Colchester's Diaries, v [illegible] 211   ‡ [illegible]
§ Sheridan [illegible] perhaps [illegible] [illegible] for refusing office [illegible] speaking [illegible] [Mer]chant Tailors' Hall, on the [illegible] of October, [illegible]

result being that the present Ministers, with the accession of the Marquis Wellesley as Foreign Secretary, and with Mr. Perceval as Prime Minister, were left to carry on the Government as best they might. Perceval became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Hawkesbury removed from the Home Office to be Secretary for War and the Colonies; Mr. Richard Ryder, brother of the Earl of Harrowby, succeeded Lord Hawkesbury as Home Secretary.

How justly-founded and sagacious were the King's anticipations, was proved by the results of Ministers having followed the advice which he gave them. The facts are not a little remarkable, that instead of the Portland Administration falling so rapidly to pieces as had been feared by friend and foretold by foe, two of its members—Lord Eldon as Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Westmoreland as Privy Seal—continued to hold those appointments for no fewer than eighteen years, while the late premier, Lord Palmerston, who became Secretary at War, retained that situation for as many as nineteen years.

The 25th of October this year, being the day on which the King commenced the fiftieth year of his reign, was celebrated throughout the empire with extraordinary rejoicings. Thanksgivings were offered up in the churches;

dinner also, and I had a good deal of conversation with him after it was over. He blamed the conduct of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, and said they had given the Government very great advantage by it; lamented that Lord Grey had not asked an audience of the King; and expressed a most decided opinion of the folly and madness of again stirring the Catholic Question during the King's life, as well as the cruelty; adding that the two peers had had a pretty good assurance of the feelings of the country upon it."—*Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 420. Even Lord Grey himself is said to have admitted that the Catholics themselves "did not wish the question to be pressed, nor care a farthing about it;" adding that if he had been sent for to the royal closet he would, "in a single sentence, have set the King's mind at ease."—*Lord Colchester's Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 214. These sentiments would seem to have come to the knowledge of the Court; at least Lord Bathurst told Rose that the King would not have objected to Lord Grey, although the dislike which he entertained for Lord Grenville was "insuperable."—*Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. p. 381.

debtors were liberated from prison, military delinquent were pardoned, the poor were feasted and clothed, ga festivities did honour to the day, and brilliant illumina tions to the night

On the 30th of October, five days after the anniver sary of the King's accession, died the Duke of Portland Though boasting neither splendid abilities nor a vigorou understanding, his judgment was, generally speaking sound, his political principles pure, and his motive patriotic In disposition and character, he was a mild an amiable, and a thoroughly honourable and uprigh man He had long been a great sufferer from a mos excruciating disorder, his friend Lord Malmesbury in forming us that, after the Duke had become Premier in 1807, it was "solely by opiates and laudanum" that he wa enabled to support the fatigues of office * The followin year his condition grew worse "His complaint, th stone," writes Lord Malmesbury, "was returning, an the excruciating pain this occasioned, joined to the worr and torment of his official situation, quite broke hin down I have been often with him when I thought h would have died in his chair, and his powers of atten tion were so weakened that he could neither read paper, nor listen for a while, without becoming drows and falling asleep Yet he would never let me go awa after dinner when the rest of the company went, bu always urged me to remain on with him, which I ofte did for hours, when he was equal neither to talk nor t hear About twelve or one o'clock he generally rallied and he has made me sit up many nights after my usua hour of retiring, particularly two—the 18th and 19tl of January, 1808—when he wished me to assist him in drawing up the King's Speech for the opening of Parlia ment on the 21st † The Duke expired, shortly afte

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv p. 390 † Ibid., vol. iv pp. 412, 41

having undergone a painful surgical operation, in the seventy-second year of his age. It was the conviction of the Dean of Christchurch, communicated by him to Speaker Abbot, that so great was the mental disquietude which the Duke had suffered from the state of public affairs, that had his complaint not been a mortal one, he would have died of a broken heart.*

During the remainder of the year, we find the King not only to all appearance in the possession of good health and spirits, but indulging, on more than one occasion, his former love of harmless pleasantry. When, for instance, on the 1st November, the Speaker waited upon him at his levee, the King good-humouredly inquired of him whether his object in coming to London was to attend the ceremony of the further prorogation of Parliament? The Speaker answered in the negative, adding that the practice had been discontinued by his predecessor. "Oh!" said the King, "I will tell you how all that came about. Sir John Cust wanted to go to Spa, and desired I would excuse his attendance upon the Prorogation during the recess. Then came Sir Fletcher Norton, and he took advantage of the last precedent. Mr. Cornwall followed the same; and so the Speakers have all considered themselves as going to Spa ever since."† Again, when, in the following month, Lord Grenville stood as a candidate for the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford in the vacancy occasioned by the death of the Duke of Portland, the King observed to Lord Eldon—"It will be hard if Oxford should have a Popish Chancellor, as well as Cambridge an Unitarian one."‡ The King, of course, referred to his former First Minister, Augustus Duke of Grafton, who was more than suspected of entertaining Unitarian principles.

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 214.

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 213.

‡ Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 110.

The following trifling piece of Court gossip, as connected with the peculiarities of a celebrated man, may not be thought unworthy of insertion "Lady de Clifford,"* writes a contemporary, "told me that in a conversation she had with the King at Windsor something was said of Lord Erskine's Bill for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, on which his Majesty asked Lady de Clifford if she had heard that Lord Erskine believed in the transmigration of souls, that he had been told so, and, as a proof of it, kept two leeches in a bottle, whom he called two of his departed friends Lady De Clifford told the King he had been much misinformed, that it was true indeed that Lord Erskine kept two leeches, and that he called them Doctor Baillie and Mr Hume, his physician and surgeon, meaning that he made use of them as such"† It may be mentioned that Lord Erskine's eccentric affection for these leeches created a good deal of amusement among his friends and acquaintances

"The year 1810," writes Miss Cornelia Knight, who was still domesticated with Queen Charlotte, "was a very melancholy one at Windsor The attempt to assassinate the Duke of Cumberland caused great disquietude Then followed the afflicting illness which ended in the death of the amiable Princess Amelia, and, lastly, the malady that overwhelmed our excellent Sovereign cast a gloom over the Castle which was never removed during the remainder of my stay in its neighbourhood ‡ Dark days, indeed, brooded over the Royal Family, but by far the darkest were those which were in store for the venerable King

The mysterious attempt on the life of the Duke of

* Sophia Dowager Lady de Clifford, governess to the Princess Charlotte See *ante* pp 423 424 Lady de Clifford died in 1828

† MS Journals of Colonel Henry Norton Willis, Comptroller of the Household to H. R. H the Princess Charlotte of Wales See also *Life of Sir Samuel Romilly* vol. ii. p 24 2nd edition.

‡ Autobiography of Miss C Knight vol. i. p 171

Cumberland, referred to by Miss Knight, took place in St. James's Palace in the dead of the night of the 30th of May, or rather early in the morning of the 31st. In connexion with this tragical affair, many painful surmises and dark accusations were more than whispered at the time. Among others, a shocking rumour got abroad that, instead of any attempt having been made upon the life of the Duke, he was in fact, for certain private reasons, the murderer of his pretended assassin. The imputation, however—as will be seen by the following statement of the facts of the case, such as they were affirmed on oath at a coroner's inquest—appears to have been equally scandalous and untrue. About half-past twelve o'clock, the Duke, after having dined at Greenwich, and afterwards attended a concert for the benefit of the Royal Society of Musicians, returned to his apartments in St. James's Palace, overlooking Cleveland Row. About one, he retired to rest. His sleeping-room, which was a large one, was very dimly lighted by a lamp, which stood behind a screen in the fire-place in a distant corner of the apartment. The Duke's bed stood in a recess, behind which was a small room, in which the page in attendance, one Neale, was accustomed to sleep. On the sofa lay the Duke's military sabre, which, with his sanction, a favourite valet, one Sellis, a Piedmontese, had recently had repaired and sharpened.

About half-past two o'clock in the morning, the Duke was aroused by a blow on the head, which was immediately followed by a second blow. His first impression was that a bat had got into his apartment and was beating about his head. The light of the lamp, however, gleaming on the sabre, he at once perceived the extreme peril of his situation, and accordingly, following the first impulse of the moment, he felt for the bell-rope which usually hung over the head of his bed, but which, whether accidentally

or designedly, had been displaced. The Duke, who had now received a third stroke, sprang from his bed and rushed towards the door of the apartment of the page in attendance, his assailant at the same time pursuing him. Fortunately he succeeded in opening the door, but not till he had received a wound in the thigh, and other injuries. The assassin, having previously dropped the sabre, now made good his retreat in the darkness. A dent, which was subsequently discovered in the door, as well as the circumstance of the point of the sabre being bent, evinced how narrow had been the escape of the Duke. A picture near the door was found to be slightly splashed with blood.

In the mean time, the Duke, with the assistance of the page, Neale, had succeeded in alarming his Royal Highness's household, and in obtaining the assistance of the sergeant and soldiers on guard. The Duke now earnestly inquired for Sellis, but in vain. Those who were despatched to summon him, not only found the door of his apartment fastened inside, but to their repeated exclamations that the Duke had been assassinated, no answer was returned. It was then remembered that there was another entrance approachable by the principal staircase, which they had no sooner ascended, and opened the door of Sellis's apartment, than they were appalled by a most horrifying spectacle. Sellis was discovered sitting half undressed, in a reclining posture, on his bed, with his throat cut from ear to ear, and with life extinct. His countenance was not only composed, but is said to have worn rather a smiling expression. On a chest of drawers, near the bedside, lay a razor, and a basin containing water tinged with blood. The inference would seem to be, that, after having attacked his master, he had rushed back to his own apartment with the intention of washing the Duke's blood from

his hands, and of getting into bed as soon as possible, but that the approach of the persons sent in search of him, told him that detection was inevitable, and induced him to commit suicide in order to avoid the consequences of his crime. The fact is worthy of mention, that Sellis was a left-handed person, whereas it was the conviction of one of the physicians who examined his body after death, that the wound in his throat must have been inflicted with the right hand. Opposed, however, to this somewhat suspicious circumstance, were the further facts that the *left* sleeve of his coat was found soaked with blood, and that some blood, which was discovered on one of the doors, was also on the *left* side.

The Jury, which sat in inquest over Sellis's body, was composed of the principal tradesmen about Whitehall and Charing Cross, and as their political opinions were, generally speaking, diametrically opposed to those of the High Tory and High Church Party, of which the Duke of Cumberland was one of the main pillars, it may be presumed that they entered upon their investigation without being much prejudiced in his favour. The inquiry, however, seems to have been carried on with the greatest impartiality, and to have completely satisfied the Jury of the perfect innocence of the Duke. After having sat hearing evidence for four hours, and deliberating upon it for another hour, they agreed upon returning a verdict of *felo-de-se* against Sellis. The body of the suicide was interred in "the high road" in Scotland Yard.*

This tragical affair, as may readily be supposed, created an extraordinary sensation at the time. "It was

* Annual Register for 1810, pp. 261, 262. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 137-146. Miss Knight's Autobiography, vol. i. pp. 171-3. 3rd edition. In Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 439, will be found a plan of the apartments which were the scene of these tragic incidents.

the fashion," writes Miss Knight, "to go and see the Duke's apartments, which for several days were left in the same state as when he was removed The visitors discovered traces of blood upon the walls, &c , but, for my part, I did not join the crowd whose curiosity led them to this horrid scene' *

Discarding as very improbable, if not utterly worthless, the scandalous rumours which were current at the time, we are inclined to adopt, as setting forth the true causes of Sellis s murderous attack on the Duke of Cumberland, the following MS version of a well informed contemporary "I strongly suspect,' writes Colonel Willis, "that the motives which actuated Sellis in his attempt to assassinate the Duke of Cumberland were the taunts and sarcasms that the Duke was constantly, in his violent, coarse manner, lavishing on Sellis s religion, who was a Catholic This conduct, in addition to the part the Duke had notoriously taken to prevent the extension of entire toleration to that religion, appear to be very sufficient motives to induce a bigot to commit the most desperate action" Again, in the month of July, Colonel Willis inserts in his Diary —"Called at Carlton House In going out saw Colonel McMahon,† who told me that the Duke of Cumberland had dismissed Captain Stephenson in a very harsh, severe manner, the cause as follows Stephenson dined at the Prince's table in company, among others, with Mr Blomberg ‡ Stephenson was asked if the Duke had on any occasions treated his servants cruelly or harshly He replied,—'No, his conduct was much the contrary He remembered, indeed, some years ago, Sellis the assassin, being in the act of pulling off the Duke's boots, the latter gave him a kick which threw him, that this act, at the

* Autobiography vol i. p. 173.

† Colonel John McMahon Keeper of the Privy Purse and Secretary Extraordinary to the Prince of Wales.

‡ The Reverend Mr Blomberg, Private Secretary to the Prince of Wales

time, seemed to produce no resentment on the part of Sellis, who with the Duke and Stephenson all joined in the laugh. Blomberg the next day went to Windsor and related this story to the King, probably with some additions. His Majesty, on hearing it, expressed strong disapprobation at Stephenson's conduct, and said he was a very improper person to remain in the Duke's service, as he could not but suppose Sellis would wait an opportunity of revenging himself.' "*

The distress which this painful incident—combined with the exposure of the Duke of York's irregularities—entailed upon the King, was happily in some degree counterbalanced by his becoming reconciled to his heir. The Prince, it seems, had at length learned to appreciate the sterling qualities of his venerable father. The Prince's behaviour, at the time when the illness of the Duke of Portland threatened to bring back the dreaded Grenvilles to power, seems to have been especially gratifying to the King. "What is most unexpected," writes Lord Eldon, "the Prince has really conducted himself towards his father upon this occasion with exemplary propriety. The King showed me the Prince's letter to him and his answer."† The following pleasing letter from the Prince affords additional evidence of the creditable change which had taken place in his feelings and opinions:—

The Prince of Wales to Lord Eldon.

"MY LORD, "CARLTON HOUSE, *May 8th*, 1810.

"His Majesty having been graciously pleased to give his commands to your Lordship to make communication to me respecting the filling up the situation of Sub-Preceptor to my

* MS. Diaries ... Norton Willis ...
† Twiss's Lif... p. 103. It ... t, as far back as 1807, the Prince had c... vie... atholic Emancipation. See Lord Holland' ... he had with him in that year, in his ... Lord Malmes-bury's Diaries, vol. i ... 385.

daughter, and having been further pleased to intimate to me through your Lordship that I should enquire into and consider the qualifications of the Reverend Mr Short, Archdeacon of Cornwall, as a proper person to discharge the duties of that most important trust, I have accordingly taken the best means within my power to ascertain his fitness, and I have the satisfaction to announce to your Lordship that the results of my enquiries have been in all respects most satisfactory, and that with his Majesty's approbation it appears to me that it would be suitable that Mr Short should forthwith enter upon the duties of the station

"I cannot conclude this letter without expressing to your Lordship the sincere gratification with which I have received, through your Lordship, his Majesty's sentiments respecting this most interesting subject, and I trust to the very particular attention, which has marked your Lordship's proceedings through the whole of this business, to take the most suitable course of conveying to the King, with the most profound respect and duty on my part, the feelings with which I am impressed on this occasion by his Majesty's most gracious and condescending attention to me

"I am, my Lord,

"Very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P *

TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Unavoidably uniform and monotonous as were the habits and pursuits of George the Third at this time, the story of his life of comparative seclusion is nevertheless not devoid of interest He still continued constant in his morning attendances at chapel, whither, in consequence of his blindness, he was conducted by two attendants On these occasions, not only were the responses to the prayers delivered by him with the earnest and audible voice of former days, but it was observed that, during the reading of the Psalms, he repeated the alternate verses after the clergyman, almost as correctly as if he had been in the enjoyment of his eyesight, with his Prayer Book lying open before him After breakfast, if the weather was fine, the King rode out on horseback,

* Eldon MS. An extract only from this letter is given in Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. ii. p. 119

accompanied usually by two of the Princesses; a carriage, containing the Court ladies in attendance, immediately following. On these occasions, as he was unable to guide his horse, two of the royal grooms rode constantly one on each side of him.

During the summer evenings the King still continued to enjoy his favourite promenades on the Terrace at Windsor, where two bands of music played alternately. He usually made his appearance at seven o'clock, at which hour a door in one of the towers of the Castle was thrown open, and then was witnessed the affecting sight of the venerable monarch, assisted by his two attendants, feeling his way with a stick down the steps which led to the Terrace. His dress on these occasions was usually a blue coat, to the breast of which was affixed the Star of the Order of the Garter; the rest of his apparel being white. On his hat, which was shaped so as to shade his eyes, he wore a cockade and a gold button and loop.

On reaching the Terrace, the King generally placed his arms in those of two of the Princesses, who walked with, and guided him, till his return to his apartments. As the royal party passed along, the company made way for them, by withdrawing on either side. It was generally understood to be the wish of the King, that no other notice should be taken of him than the gentlemen removing their hats as he passed. When he approached any one whom the Princesses considered he might wish to recognize or converse with, they whispered the name of the person to him, when he usually stopped and entered into a familiar conversation, of longer or shorter duration. On these occasions, ill at ease as was his heart on account of the failing health of his favourite daughter, the Princess Amelia, his cheerful manner and perfect good-humour were the subjects of general observation. On passing the band, before ascending the steps on his return to his apartments,

his invariable custom was to raise his hat, saying audibly— "Good night! gentlemen; I thank you."

Sir Herbert Taylor, the King's confidential and high-minded private secretary, had now been attached to his person for five years. As his constant companion, he had watched the gradual encroachments of his terrible infliction, blindness; he had been the confidant of his afflicted master in many a sad and trying difficulty. Few men therefore had been afforded more frequent or more favourable opportunities of observing the character of George the Third, and as few men also were better judges of human nature, we are naturally anxious to ascertain the opinion which so competent, and at the same time so conscientious an authority, had formed of the character of his Sovereign. Happily, some years after the death of his royal master, circumstances induced Sir Herbert to commit his convictions to paper. "The loss of sight," he replies to Lord Brougham, "was borne with exemplary patience and *resignation; and neither this nor other trials produced*, while his Majesty continued in a sound state of mind, any ebullition of temper, or harshness of manner or expression, which could occasion pain or uneasiness to his family and attendants. I declare, that during the whole period of my attendance upon King George the Third, not one sharp word, not one expression of unkindness or impatience escaped his Majesty; *and the change of deportment in this respect conveyed*, to me at least, the first intimation of the approach of that calamity, of which I had the misfortune to witness the distressing progress, and the melancholy effects." "His attention to his religious duties," continues Sir Herbert, "was exemplary; and the unaffected and unostentatious character of it offered ample proof of the sincerity of his devotion."*

* 'Remarks on an article in the Edinburgh Review, No. xxxv,' p 18, by Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Taylor, G C B. London, 1838.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Illness of the Princess Amelia and distress of the King—Return of his mental disorder—His last appearance in Society—The Prince of Wales at Windsor—Death of the Princess Amelia—Its effect upon the King—Restricted Regency of the Prince of Wales—He retains his father's Ministers in power—The King's affecting tribute to the Princess Amelia's memory.

The story of George the Third, during the remaining period that he continued to be master of his actions and thoughts, is drawing towards its melancholy close. In the autumn of 1810, the painful and lingering illness of his beloved daughter, the Princess Amelia, and the agony with which he contemplated her approaching dissolution, completely bowed him to the earth. The King himself told her, not long before her death, that he felt as if his reason would sink beneath the weight of his sorrow. He trusted, he said, that God would give him strength to go through the trial.*

The Princess endured her sufferings with touching sweetness and resignation. "Day by day," writes one who tended her in her sick chamber, "she sank more and more under her great sufferings. Though pale and emaciated, she still retained her beauty. She wished to live, but was thoroughly resigned when she found there was no hope of her remaining long upon earth. Her sentiments of piety were pure, enlightened, and fervent. I saw her a few days before her death, when, taking off her

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 457.

glove, she showed me her hand. It was perfectly transparent. She was particularly fond of music, but latterly could not bear the sound of a pianoforte, even in another room. The Princess Augusta thereupon gave her a bird which sang very sweetly, and with a very soft note, and she took pleasure in listening to it."* On the last occasion on which the King was led to her sick chamber, she affected him deeply by placing on one of his fingers a ring containing a small lock of her hair, with the words engraved upon it,—"Remember me." When the blind monarch bent, for the last time, over his dying child, her parting words to him were—"Remember me, but do not grieve for me."†

On Wednesday, the 24th of October, the King's excited manner, and loud and rapid utterance, seem to have given the first warning of a return of the same dreadful mental malady which had afflicted him on former deplorable occasions.‡ Two days afterwards, we find Lord Grenville writing to his brother, the Marquis of Buckingham—"I Oct. 2 have this day received, as a mark of friendship, and with liberty to communicate to you alone, the information that the King's former indisposition is returning upon him. You may guess from whom I heard it. The person who mentioned it to me, by desire of the other, tells me that he himself met the King in his ride yesterday, *talking* so loud and fast as to be remarked at a considerable distance."§ Nevertheless, in the evening, the King was able to join a party which the Queen had assembled at the Castle; all his children, with the exception of the Queen of

* Miss Knight's Autobiography, vol. i. pp. 173 4.

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 174. Annual Register, vol. lxii. pp. 708, 709.

‡ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 447.

§ Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. p. 453. The "person" alluded to was no doubt Mr. W. H. Fremantle, who resided at Englefield Green, in the immediate neighbourhood of Windsor Castle. His letters to the House of Grenville contain, for some time after this date, very painful details respecting the progress of the King's disorder, which he seems to have been singularly industrious in collecting from day to day. "I cannot leave this

Wurtemberg and the Princess Amelia, being present. It was the anniversary of his accession, as well as the last occasion on which he ever made his appearance in society. When he entered the drawing-room, it was with the Queen holding his arm. "As he went round the circle as usual," writes Miss Knight, who was one of the guests, "it was easy to perceive the dreadful excitement in his countenance. As he could not distinguish persons, it was the custom to speak to him as he approached, that he might recognize by the voice whom he was about to address. I forget what it was I said to him, but shall ever remember what he said to me. 'You are not uneasy, I am sure, about Amelia. You are not to be deceived, but you know *that* she is in no danger.' At the same time, he squeezed my hand with such force that I could scarcely help crying out. The Queen, however, dragged him away. When tea was served, I perceived how much alarmed I had been, for my hand shook so that I could hardly hold the cup. When the King was seated, he called to him each of his sons separately, and said things to them equally sublime and instructive, but, very unlike what he would have said before so many people had he been conscious of the circumstance. I never did and never will repeat what I then heard, and I sincerely believe that all present felt as I did on that occasion. His Majesty had a long conversation with Count Munster on the affairs of Hanover, so that it could only be understood by those who were acquainted with the German language."*

During the three following days, the worst fears which could be entertained by the Royal Family became realized. On Monday, the 29th, the Lord Chancellor and the Prime

neighbourhood," he writes to Lord Buckingham, on the 7th of November, "as I am daily in the habit of going over to Windsor, and giving the information which I pick up. I have not yet been to-day, but when I return you shall have the true state by the post."—*Buckingham Papers*, vol. iv. p. 467.

* Miss Knight's *Autobiography*, vol. i. pp. 174, 175.

Minister proceeded to Windsor, where, at the pressing instance of the royal physicians, a distressing interview took place between Perceval and his afflicted Sovereign. On the return of the former to London, it was his report to the Speaker of the House of Commons, that though the King's conversation had been neither "unconnected nor irrational," yet it had been so hurried, and so different from his ordinary manner, as to satisfy him that, for the present at least, he was not in a competent state to discharge his kingly duties. Yet, agitated as he was, not only was his manner to his Minister most affectionate, but, instead of dwelling on his own afflicted condition, he turned the conversation to the subject of Perceval's family, of the different members of which he spoke in language of kind and flattering regard. By the physicians it was mentioned to the Chancellor and Prime Minister, as a remarkable incident, that all-absorbing as had been the interest taken by the King in the illness and sufferings of the Princess Amelia, and fatal as was the effect which they had produced on his mind, yet he no sooner became a prey to insanity, than her name ceased to pass his lips. Some time afterwards, when he was at length led to speak of his beloved daughter, it was under the happy delusion that she was in Hanover, not only alive and well, but endowed with the gifts of perpetual youth and health.*

Up to this time, the Queen had succeeded in keeping all knowledge of the true state of the King's health a profound secret from the public. Parliament, however, was appointed to re-assemble on the first of November, when—unless prorogued in the mean time—the King's illness must unavoidably become a topic of discussion. Accordingly, on the morning of the first, the Lord

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 281, 282. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 448, 449. Miss Knight's Autobiography, vol. i. p. 179

Chancellor proceeded to Windsor, in hopes of finding the King well enough to sign the necessary Commission for a prorogation, but, to his great distress, he was informed that on the preceding day his Majesty had been violently ill. Though tolerably composed when the Chancellor saw him, so irrational was his discourse during their interview, that the latter, on quitting the royal presence, was observed to throw up his hands despondingly, as if in painful anticipation of the worst. Under these circumstances, the Chancellor, in the Upper House, and Perceval, in the Lower, induced the two Houses to adjourn till the 15th, by which time it was hoped that the King would be sufficiently recovered to enable him to discharge his kingly duties. In the Lower House some touching allusions were made by Perceval to the causes of his Sovereign's malady. "If anything," he said, "could more sensibly increase those feelings of affection, and diminish those of affliction, which are at this moment felt by his Majesty's people, it is the knowledge that his disorder has originated from his constant and unremitting anxiety and attention, during the painful and protracted sufferings of a dearly beloved child." To the same affecting cause the physicians, one and all, attributed his malady.* "He reaped not in this world," writes Sir Walter Scott, "the reward of his firmness, his virtue, his enduring patriotism; but was stricken with mental alienation while he wept, broken-hearted, over the bed of a beloved and amiable daughter." †

It was a painful feature of the King's disorder, that his mind persisted in dwelling on the details of the mental ailments which had prostrated him on former occasions. On the day on which the Chancellor visited him, the King

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 283. Buckingham Papers, vol. iv. p. 461. Parliamentary Debates, vol. xviii. col. 4, and col. 203, &c. Life of Romilly, vol. ii. p. 349. 2nd Edition.

† Sir W. Scott's Prose Works, vol. iv. p. 341.

was overheard holding a conversation with himself, the subject being the several causes of each of those ailments "*This*," he said, speaking of his present malady, "was occasioned by poor Amelia"

Two days before the dissolution of the Princess Amelia, the following Court scene was presented at Windsor — "The latter part of this month," [October] writes Colonel Willis, "the King again began to show marks of mental derangement The physicians issued their usual bulletins The immediate cause was imputed to the extreme grief he felt for the situation of the Princess Amelia, who then lay on the point of death On the 31st October I received a note from Colonel McMahon, signifying the Prince of Wales's commands to see me at Windsor I went the next day, was kindly received by the Prince—who saw me as soon as I arrived—and informed me the cause of his sending for me was to make some arrangements about wine for the Queen at Frogmore He then entered into the King's situation, said that he was quite as ill as ever, that the Ministers—that is, the Lord Chancellor and Lord Wellesley—had called him out of bed in the morning to state his Majesty's condition to him, adding emphatically, these are times that require the entire vigour of Government, while its whole vigour cannot be exerted, and you must see that the present state of things cannot add to the strength of the present Ministry He continued—I am going to dine with the Queen You will stay and dine with Tyrwhitt When I return, we shall spend a comfortable evening together

'About eight o'clock the Prince returned, and on coming into the room, said—'The Duke of Cumberland will sit the evening with us, but remember, though we are on terms of civility together, you are not to suppose there exists any cordial union between us' Soon after, the Duke entered His reception of me was rather dry and

distant—I conceive because he thought I took part with Stephenson. We sat till twelve o'clock; the Prince very familiar; seemed suspicious of the designs of the Ministers; talked on a variety of subjects; among other things mimicked Grattan the Irish orator, in a manner that would not have disgraced Foot the actor.

"The Duke of Cumberland's behaviour and conversation, the whole evening, was of a nature, as to coarseness, as would have disgraced one of his grooms. About ten o'clock, a messenger brought a letter from Mr. Perceval, stating what had been done in Parliament and with respect to adjournment. The Prince seemed pleased with the attention. We parted about twelve. I breakfasted next morning with Tyrwhitt, and returned to town perfectly satisfied with my reception. The Princess Amelia died the same day, November 2—Duke of Kent's birthday. Before I left Windsor, I called on Mrs. Egerton, whose heart seemed bleeding for the calamitous state of the Royal Family. She repeated with great earnestness, an expression of the King's, immediately before his illness—that the feelings uppermost in his heart were love for his people and his children." *

The Princess Amelia, at the time of her decease, was only in her twenty-eighth year. "Two days afterwards," Miss Knight writes,—"Princess Augusta sent for me, and as I was sitting with her, one of her dressers entered the room with a bird-cage in her hand and her fingers in her eyes. 'Princess Amelia,' she said, 'gave orders before her death that this bird should be returned to your Royal Highness, but not on the day she died, nor the day after, that it might not afflict you too much in the first hours of your grief; but she wished you to know how much she

* MS. Diaries of Colonel Henry Norton Willis. "I knew Colonel Willis very well," writes one of his contemporaries to the author. "I had much to do with him when I was Gentleman of the Ewry, when he was at the head of the Board of Green Cloth. He was a charming, excellent man."

was obliged to you for giving it to her, and what a comfort its sweet voice had been!' "*

Although, for some days after the death of the Princess Amelia, the King was in a most distressing state of mental derangement, it was, happily, without manifesting any extraordinary emotion that he received the intelligence of her dissolution. The sad event was communicated to the King by Sir Henry Halford. "Halford," writes Plumer Ward, "took an opportunity to say 'he was going to try his Majesty's piety.' He immediately answered he knew what he meant, and that Amelia, he supposed, was dead. Halford replied it was so, upon which the King went off in a low rambling way, which lasted some time, when he became more composed and mentioned her again, saying—'Poor girl!'" †

On Sunday, the 11th of November, the King was not only better, but well enough to be able to receive a visit from the Lord Chancellor. Of his physicians he inquired how long he had been ill, and on receiving their answer, intimated that he had no recollection of the time. This, he said, had been the fourth blank in his life, at the same time enumerating his three former illnesses and the length of time they had lasted. He then asked whether his daughter's funeral had taken place, and being informed in the negative, he referred to certain instructions, which, in an earlier stage of his illness, he had given on the subject, desiring that, unless the Princess had left contrary directions in her will, they should be strictly carried into execution. For her burial anthem the King selected the concluding verse of the sixteenth Psalm: "Thou shalt show me the path

* Autobiography, vol. i. p. 16. This charming Princess seems to be almost idolized by the different members of her family. Three years afterwards we find the Prince of Wales deeply affected by the mere mention of his sister's name. "He burst into tears," writes Miss Knight, "when I mentioned Princess Amelia, and regretted he could not more fully comply with her last wishes: seemed embarrassed, and excessively overcome."—*Ibid.*, p. 76.

† Memoirs of R. Plumer Ward, by the Hon. Edmund Phipps, vol. i. p. 293.

of life. In Thy presence is the fulness of joy, and in Thy right hand is pleasure for evermore." At the funeral, which took place in St. George's Chapel at Windsor on the 14th, all the Ministers of State, agreeably with the King's wishes, took part in the ceremony.*

On the 15th, it was intimated by Perceval to the House of Commons that he had been that day at Windsor, in communication with the royal physicians, whose opinion it was that his Majesty's health was, happily, in a state of progressive improvement. Accordingly, under these cirumstances, he proposed and carried the question of a further adjournment of the House.† This more cheerful aspect of affairs, however, was unfortunately counteracted by the King's over-zeal in what he regarded as a religious discharge of his duties. Perceval had not long quitted Windsor when the King insisted upon entering upon a most painful investigation of the services and claims of the attendants of his late daughter. Agreeably with his directions, a particular drawer in his private cabinet was opened, in which, as he had indicated, were discovered certain packages, containing the donations which he desired those persons to accept, and on which was duly registered the names of each. The King had, at first, been perfectly collected while engaged in this melancholy occupation, but towards its close was overcome and apparently quite worn out.‡ "In going through the details of each person's case," writes the Speaker, "and directing where to find the papers and particulars of each, he had shown surprising accuracy; but towards the end puzzled himself, and left off by his own choice, and had the newspaper read to him before he went to bed." §

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 289, 290. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 455. Miss Knight's Autobiography, vol. i. pp. 177, 178.

† Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 290. Life of Romilly, vol. ii. p. 350; 2nd Edition.

‡ Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 456.

§ Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 291.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding this incident occasioned a partial relapse, the King in a day or two made up for the ground which he had lost. "Let us rejoice together," writes the Princess of Wales to Miss Berry on the 26th of November, "at the happy prospect of our beloved *monarch's recovery. We may now trust that that storm which passed over our heads will be dispersed for a number and number of years.*"* When, on the 28th and 29th, the royal physicians were examined before the Privy Council, they gave it as their opinion that though his Majesty was at present incapacitated from attending to business, the chances of his eventual restoration to health, both of mind and body, were in his favour. "Those examined," writes Rose, who was present, "were Dr. Reynolds, Sir Henry Halford, Dr. Heberden, and Dr. Willis. The impression on my mind was, that there was no doubt entertained by any one of them of the King's recovery, but neither of them could speak as to any probable time." Dr. Baillie, who was not examined till the second day, gave the same confident opinion; nor, from this time till the close of the year, do the physicians seem to have discovered any grounds for departing from their convictions.†

The year 1811 commenced, as far as related to the state 1811.
of the King's health, in as satisfactory a manner as the preceding year had closed. Not only was his bodily health almost completely restored, but with the exception of one or two delusions, not in themselves of an afflictive character, the King's mind had recovered its reasoning faculties. "His Majesty," writes Rose, on the authority of Lord Bathurst, Jan.
"is quiet, and on all points except *two*, is rational; but on those his impression does not vary. One is, that he

* Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry, vol. ii. p. 444.

† Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 459, 460. Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 293, 294. Life of Romilly, vol. ii. p. 351, 2nd Edition.

is Elector of Hanover; the other was not mentioned to me." *

The "other" delusion, referred to by Rose, was of a somewhat extraordinary, as well as romantic, character. During some period of his youth the King had conceived a passionate admiration for a lady of spotless virtue and stately loveliness—Elizabeth Countess of Pembroke.† Horace Walpole, speaking of her walking at the head of the Countesses at the coronation of George the Third, describes her as "the picture of majestic modesty." ‡ Whether the King had ever permitted his passion to come to her knowledge, there seem to be no means of ascertaining. At all events, the deep impression which her youthful loveliness had formerly made upon him remained indelible in his memory. During his former mental malady in 1789—notwithstanding twenty-seven years had elapsed since her youthful beauty had called forth the happy encomium of Walpole—her form had been ever present to the King's imagination, and her name ever escaping from his lips. Since then, a period of twenty-two more years had passed away; yet in 1811 her form again haunted his imagination as vividly as it had done in 1789. The same sickly fantasy, which had conjured up in his mind the vision of his dead daughter in the enjoyment of everlasting health and youth, not only presented to him the idol of the past, peerless in all the bloom and beauty of former days, but he was heard pathetically addressing her by her maiden name, and beseeching her to grant him the interviews for which he had probably sighed in boyhood. On this second occasion, the illusion appears to have haunted

* Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 468.

† Lady Elizabeth Spencer, daughter of Charles second Duke of Marlborough, and great grand-daughter of the first and illustrious Duke, was born on the 29th of December, 1737, and on the 13th of March, 1756, became the wife of Henry tenth Earl of Pembroke. She was for many years a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte.

‡ Walpole's Letters, vol. iii. p. 437. Ed. 1857.

for a longer period than during his former derange-t, and very possibly was dispelled only by death.*

'ortunately, in the dearth of other occupations, the g was able to entertain himself with playing on the oforte, besides taking a pleasure in listening to such ounts as were brought him, from time to time, of what passing in the gay and busy world in which he had ed to mingle. On the 17th of January, for instance, 1811. find him taking much interest in the will of the lthy and dissolute old Duke of Queensberry, who had l the preceding month; this being the day, we may ation, on which the King was, for the first time, allowed resume his favourite walks on the Terrace at Windsor. had happened after his former illnesses, the open air the effect of producing a considerable amount of ability and excitement, during the continuance of ch he talked, as he had done at the time of his ner convalescence in 1789, in Latin. The next day, ing been allowed to repeat his airing on the Terrace, expressed a desire to walk on a particular part of which he named, in order, he said, that his subjects ght have ocular evidence that he was alive.†

On the 26th, Lord Eldon and Perceval proceeded, ording to appointment, to Windsor, where they had audience with the King, which lasted for an hour a half. Besides the King's mind being in a much

See Massey's History of England, vol. iii. p 403, and the Quarterly Review, cv p 477, note A correspondent of the Marquis of Buckingham writes to in the month of March, 1811—"The news from Windsor this morning is that the has had a good night, and is quite calm. I am *now* told that he was affected y by one of those 'delusions' to which he is so subject Your Lordship well ws the nature of those 'delusions.' Suffice it that within these eight and forty hours aid to the Duke of Sussex,—'Is it not a strange thing, Adolphus, that they still se to let me go to Lady Pembroke, although every one knows I am married to But what is worst of all is, that infamous scoundrel Halford [Sir Henry] was by ne marriage, and has now the effrontery to deny it to my face.'"—*Buckingham rs under the Regency*, vol. i. p. 50.

Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv p. 364 Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. 08. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 471, 473

more healthy state, the two statesmen learned to their great satisfaction that his sight had been partially restored to him. "He could distinguish their features," writes the Speaker; "Lord Eldon's features immediately, and Perceval's after some time and more effort. He talked of his family and of foreign operations, but did not touch upon the state of his Government at home." Of the Princess Amelia the King spoke with great feeling, but with perfect composure.* "I saw the King on Saturday," writes Lord Eldon to Sir William Scott, "for much more than an hour. He is not well, and I fear he requires time. In the midst of this state, it is impossible to conceive how right, how pious, how religious, how everything that he should be, he is, with the distressing aberrations I allude to."†

On the 29th, Perceval was admitted to another audience with the King, during which he detailed to him all that had passed in Parliament and in political circles, from the commencement of his illness. The King listened to him with great composure. He was satisfied, he told Perceval, that everything had been done for the best. When informed that, in the opinion of his physicians, he was still *scarcely sufficiently recovered to be troubled with* public business, he merely observed that they were the best judges, and that he should conform himself to their advice. At his time of life, he said, it was necessary for him to think of retirement. Not, he added, that he could ever part with the name of "King," for King he must still continue; but the *otium cum dignitate* was the most suitable to his age. When Perceval intimated to him that a due discharge of his kingly duties was required of him by his religious obligations, he listened to him with some slight impatience. "If I am wanted," he said, "I shall

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 311. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 474. Phipps's Memoirs of R. Plumer Ward, vol. i. p. 367.

† Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. ii. p. 162.

always be at hand to come forward" Throughout their long interview, said Perceval, there was perceptible a most marked improvement in the King's mind and manner, *since he had last conversed with him* *

In the mean time, Ministers had introduced a Bill into Parliament, constituting the Prince of Wales Regent of the Realm, under certain restrictive provisions which were to cease at the end of a year The charge and *care of the King's person, and the disposition of the royal* household, were, very properly, to be vested in the Queen By the provisions of the Act, the Prince was disqualified from granting peerages, except for naval and military services, as well as from awarding pensions or places for life It was the anxious wish of Perceval, as it had formerly been the anxious wish of Pitt under similar painful circumstances, that the afflicted King, in the event of his recovery, should miss none of the comforts to which he had been accustomed, nor any of the faces with which he was familiar, but, on the contrary, that he should find his affairs, private as well as public, as little disarranged as possible The Whigs, however, had been far too long excluded from power and place, not to fret at the important restrictions which Perceval meditated laying upon the Prince, and more especially at the proposed endowment of the Queen with the patronage of the royal household, conferring, as it did, on those having the dispensation of it, a formidable amount of political power As for the Prince, he regarded, or affected to regard the selection of the Queen as a personal affront put upon himself He had expected, he said, to be treated as a gentleman, and not like a ruffian † Without an exception, as will be seen by the following protest, the Princes of the Blood sided with the Heir to the Throne —

* Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. pp 312-4 † Rose's Diaries vol ii p 469

To the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval.

"CARLTON HOUSE, *19th Dec.*, 1810. 12 o'clock P.M.

"The Prince of Wales having assembled the whole of the male branches of the Royal Family, and having communicated to us the plan intended to be proposed by his Majesty's confidential servants to the Lords and Commons for the establishment of a restricted Regency, should the continuance of his Majesty's ever-to-be-lamented illness render it necessary, We feel it a duty we owe to his Majesty, our country, and ourselves, to enter our solemn protest against measures that we consider as perfectly unconstitutional, as they are contrary to, and subversive of the principles that seated our Family upon the throne of these Realms.

"FREDERICK (DUKE OF YORK).
"WILLIAM (DUKE OF CLARENCE).
"EDWARD (DUKE OF KENT).
"ERNEST (DUKE OF CUMBERLAND).
"AUGUSTUS FREDERICK (DUKE OF SUSSEX).
"ADOLPHUS FREDERICK (DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE).
"WILLIAM FREDERICK (DUKE OF GLOUCESTER)." *

"The offence and disgust," writes Rose, "which this occasioned, to the country gentlemen in particular, was beyond everything I ever remember. Many spoke to me of it in terms of the strongest disapprobation, mixed with great resentment." † "And then," writes Hatsell to Lord
ec. 5. Auckland, "the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex voting and *speaking* on a question in which their father's domestic comforts were so intimately connected! It is a discouraging prelude to future scenes." ‡

That the Prince's first exercise of his new authority, on the Regency Bill receiving the King's assent, would be the dismissal of the present Ministers, no one for a moment could well doubt. The Prince, indeed, had already proceeded to such lengths as to send for Lords Grenville

* Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. ii. p. 136. Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 299.
† Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 463. ‡ Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 361.

and Grey, whom he had instructed to take preliminary steps for forming a new Administration, of which the former nobleman was to have been at the head * Lord Moira, who was to have been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had not only nominated the members of his Staff, but had informed them of the day on which they were to be prepared to set off for Dublin In like manner, Lord Temple had written to his friends in Buckinghamshire, naming the day on which he intended to commence his personal canvass of the county †

Such was the state of affairs, when, on the 31st of January, Lords Eldon and Liverpool were, at their own desire, admitted into the King's presence for the purpose of apprising him of the course of public events Already, two days previously, Perceval had broken to him the fact that a Regency Bill was in the course of being framed, and, consequently, the two lords found him not unprepared to converse with them on the painful subject That the King's manner was hurried, they were compelled to admit, but, on the other hand, his conversation betrayed neither derangement nor delusion Was it his son's intention, he inquired, to change his Ministers? Being informed by the two lords that, to the best of their knowledge, such was the Prince's determination, he intimated that on his resuming the Sovereign authority he should reinstate them It was his wish, however, he added, not to be "brought forward" too soon ‡

In the mean time, an extraordinary and most unexpected

* Respecting the new Ministerial arrangements which were in contemplation see Memoirs of Horner, vol. ii, pp. 74 77 of Wilberforce vol. iii, p 492 4 Moore's

† *Memoirs of Robert Plumer Ward* by the Hon. Edmund Phipps vol. i p. 3 6 377
‡ Rose's Diaries vol. ii, p. 477

change had been wrought in the intentions of the Prince of Wales. "The Prince," writes Plumer Ward on the 3rd of February, "has, it seems, turned short round upon his friends, who seem confounded."* The feelings of Lords Grenville and Grey may be readily imagined, when suddenly it was intimated to them that the Prince no longer entertained any intention of discarding his father's Ministers. "What most offended them," writes Mr. Ward, "was the manner in which the Prince announced his resolution. They were in the very act of forming the Administration, filling offices, &c., when Adam came in from the Prince. They said they could not be disturbed. He said he must disturb them, for he had a message from the Prince. They replied that it was for the Prince they were at work, for they were making the Government. Adam told them to spare all trouble, for no Government was to be made. This was on Friday, the 1st, in the evening; and what affronted them was, that after having had such a task committed to them, the Prince should have presumed to take a counter-resolution by himself, without first consulting them.† "To be sure," writes
Feb. 2. Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland, "if the Prince had known his mind a little sooner, it might have saved us some toil and trouble."‡ In the words of Lord Selkirk, the Prince had "ratted."§ Out of doors, as might be expected, the news created an extraordinary sensation.
Feb. 3. "Shoals of public men of all parties," writes Mr. Ward, "beset the palace, where a thousand inquiries were making after the King; and the whole of Pall-Mall was crowded with knots of Opposition, who had either been, or were conferring with those who had been, at Carlton

* Phipps's Memoirs of R. Plumer Ward, vol. i. p. 376. † Ibid., p. 383.
‡ Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 365.
§ Phipps's Memoirs of Ward, vol. i. p. 377.

House. The result is, that they are all in very bad humour." "In the streets," writes the same authority, "it was not unpleasing to see the effect of all this, where crowds of all ranks were expressing their satisfaction that the Ministry was not to be changed." "It was a touchstone," said Perceval to Ward, "of the people's love for the King."*

On the 3rd of February, two days before the Regency Bill received the Royal Assent, the Prince addressed a communication to Perceval, in which he formally announced his design of retaining the present Ministers in power. The change in his Royal Highness's sentiments was assigned at the time to a variety of causes, of which the reason which the Prince himself gave to Perceval would really seem to have been the truth. "He dreaded," are his words, "lest any act of the Regent might have the effect of interfering with the progress of his Sovereign's disorder."† For some time past, it seems, that not only the Queen, but Sir Henry Halford, as the King's medical attendant, had been endeavouring to convince him how probable it was that the dismissal of the present Administration might produce a fatal effect upon the King's reason, if not his life, and in that case, how terrible would be his reflections to the end of his days.‡ Another argument, which they had at hand, lay in the painful fact that the Royal physicians, in their evidence before the Privy Council in 1804, had attributed the King's insanity in that year to the great mental distress which the publication of his private letters by the Prince had

* Phipps's Memoirs of Ward, vol. i. pp. 377, 378, 381.

† The Prince's letter, together with Perceval's reply, are printed both in Lord Colchester's Diaries, vol. ii. pp. 316-8, and in the Annual Register for 1811, pp. 279, 280. In the latter publication, Perceval's letter is awkwardly made to date the 11th, instead of the 5th of February. The Prince's letter, it seems, was composed by Sheridan.—*Moore's Life of Sheridan*, vol. ii. p. 408.

‡ Life of Romilly, vol. ii. p. 367; 2nd Edition. Rose's Diaries, vol. ii. p. 479.

change had been wrought in the intentions of the Prince of Wales. "The Prince," writes Plumer Ward on the 3rd of February, "has, it seems, turned short round upon his friends, who seem confounded."* The feelings of Lords Grenville and Grey may be readily imagined, when suddenly it was intimated to them that the Prince no longer entertained any intention of discarding his father's Ministers. "What most offended them," writes Mr. Ward, "was the manner in which the Prince announced his resolution. They were in the very act of forming the Administration, filling offices, &c., when Adam came in from the Prince. They said they could not be disturbed. He said he must disturb them, for he had a message from the Prince. They replied that it was for the Prince they were at work, for they were making the Government. Adam told them to spare all trouble, for no Government was to be made. This was on Friday, the 1st, in the evening; and what affronted them was, that after having had such a task committed to them, the Prince should have presumed to take a counter-resolution by himself, without first consulting them.† "To be sure," writes
Feb. 2. Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland, "if the Prince had known his mind a little sooner, it might have saved us some toil and trouble."‡ In the words of Lord Selkirk, the Prince had "ratted."§ Out of doors, as might be expected, the news created an extraordinary sensation.
Feb. 3. "Shoals of public men of all parties," writes Mr. Ward, "beset the palace, where a thousand inquiries were making after the King; and the whole of Pall-Mall was crowded with knots of Opposition, who had either been, or were conferring with those who had been, at Carlton

* Phipps's Memoirs of R. Plumer Ward, vol. i. p. 376. † Ibid., p. 381.
‡ Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 365.
§ Phipps's Memoirs of Ward, vol. i. p. 377.

affords, notwithstanding, but little excuse for his subsequent barefaced abandonment of his Whig friends and Whig principles, when—owing to his father's derangement having become confirmed and permanent—he ceased any longer to have the pretext of being actuated by filial deference and affection

The Queen to Lord Chancellor Eldon.

WINDSOR, *Feb 6th* 1811

"The Queen cannot refrain returning thanks to the Lord Chancellor for the pleasing account which his note conveyed to her of his Majesty's improvement since Friday last, and she feels happy to add that the account this morning received from Dr Baillie continues to increase our hopes still stronger for a complete recovery The Queen had a visit from the Prince of Wales soon after the Lord Chancellor had left Windsor He brought a copy of the letter addressed to Mr Perceval, containing his intention of retaining his Majesty's present Ministers, a step which, independent of the credit it is to the Prince, gave the most heartfelt pleasure to herself She cannot help lamenting that upon such a melancholy business—which is now finished, and in which the Lord Chancellor has given such strong proofs of zeal and affection for his Sovereign and country—his feelings should have been put to such severe trials, but his own conscience, and the King's good opinion, must be his chief support As to herself, she will always remember with gratitude the Lord Chancellor's attention shown her upon this melancholy occasion

"CHARLOTTE"*

On the 5th of February the Lord Chancellor laid the Regency Bill before the King, who signified his assent to it with a melancholy pleasantry It was not more agreeable to him, he said, to be turned out of office than it was to other persons He added, however, that his physicians and his Ministers were alike agreed that

* Eldon MS Partly printed in Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. ii, p 164

The Duke of York to Lord Eldon.

"My dear Lord,

"Stable Yard, *May 25th*, 1811.

"At the desire of my brother, the Prince Regent, I trouble your Lordship with this letter, to acquaint you with what has passed during these two last days at Windsor, from whence I am only returned this afternoon.

"Upon my arrival there, yesterday morning, I found his Majesty in the Queen's room. He appeared at first very much affected at seeing me, and expressed himself in the kindest and most affectionate manner upon my re-appointment to the Chief Command of the Army; but soon flew off from that subject, and then ran on in perfect good humour, but with greatest rapidity, and with little or no connection, upon the most trifling topics; at times hinting at some of the subjects of his delusion, in spite of all our endeavours to change the conversation. This continued the same during his ride, and the whole of the Queen's visit in the afternoon; and though, this morning, his Majesty was quieter and less rapid in the change of his ideas, yet the topics of his conversation were equally frivolous.

"I was so much shocked at what I had observed, both on Wednesday and during the different visits of yesterday, that I took an opportunity, when I left his Majesty yesterday evening, to have a conversation with Dr. Robert Willis, who very candidly stated to me his opinion that his Majesty had lost ground this week, and that, though he thought very seriously of the state of his bodily health, he was much more alarmed at the apparent frivolity, or rather imbecility of his mind. He added that something ought to be done; but that in the present state of his Majesty's mind, it was in vain to hope that any conversation with him would be attended with any good effect. I then told him that I thought that it behoved his Majesty's physicians to consider his Majesty's case very seriously over, before they met the Queen's Council this morning, and to be prepared to state to them what measures were most advisable to be adopted, under the present melancholy and alarming circumstances.

"Having mentioned this to her Majesty, she was pleased to order me to be present when she received her Council this morning, and to tell them, in her presence, what I had heard, and the state in which I had found his Majesty; which I did not fail to do, as well as the conversation I had had with Dr. Willis,

and, from what I understand, it is intended to call a meeting of his Majesty's Council to-morrow morning here in town, at which all the physicians, except Mr Dundas, are summoned to attend, in order to come to some decisive determination

"I am ever, my dear Lord,

"Yours most sincerely,

"FREDERICK *

THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

It will be seen, by the following extracts from two letters, dated the same day as the Duke of York's letter to the Chancellor, that the King, afflicted as he was, still took a pleasure in affording gratification to others

Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Taylor to the Right Hon. J W Croker †

[WINDSOR,] '*May 25th, 1811.*

"His Majesty honoured me with his commands *last night*, to assure you how much he is pleased with your attention in the early communication of intelligence, both interesting and pleasing, and to observe that your diligence in this respect reminds him of that which had been shown by one of your predecessors, Mr Marsden, whose conduct was at all times so satisfactory to his Majesty

The same to William Marsden, Esq

WINDSOR, *May 25th*, 1811.

"I have been honoured with the King's commands to transmit, for your information, the accompanying extract of a letter which I addressed this morning by his Majesty's order to Mr Croker, the King being desirous that you should know that he does not forget the attention which has been shown *to him* by a zealous, meritorious, and attached servant, of whom his Majesty often speaks in terms of great regard '‡

Unhappily, during the month of July, the King's bodily health not only grew worse, but new delusions took

* Eldon MS. The greater part of this letter is printed in Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. pp 174 175

† Mr Croker was at this time First Secretary of the Admiralty Mr Marsden, to whom Sir H Taylor's second letter is addressed, had ceased to hold the appointment of Second Secretary since 1804

‡ Memoir of William Marsden, F R.S by himself, pp 141 142, privately printed.

possession of his mind. "It is, I believe, certainly true," writes Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland on the 28th, "that the King has taken for the last three days scarcely any food at all, and that, unless a change takes place very shortly in that respect, he cannot survive many days."* Nevertheless, during the next fortnight the King's bodily health appears to have greatly improved. "The King, I should suppose," writes Lord Buckinghamshire on the 13th of August, "is not likely to die soon, but I fear his mental recovery is hardly to be expected."† Again, Lord Bulkeley writes to Lord Auckland on the following day, that, though the King's body may "last a great while," yet even the Royal Family begin to despair for his reason.‡

In the month of October, the prospects of the King's recovery became gloomier than ever. "The Report of the physicians," writes Lord Grenville on the 8th, "is worded as foolishly as ever; but it can leave no ground of hope in the mind of any reasonable man."§ On the 25th, we find the Duke of Kent admitting to Mr. W. H. Fremantle that, during the last fortnight, not only had the King's mental malady been more violent than it had ever previously been, but that so ill did Dr. John Willis think of the King's chances of amendment, that he had given up further attendance at Windsor.‖ At last, in the month of

1812. January, 1812, the printed evidence of the royal physicians, as taken before the several Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons, could have left very little doubt on the mind of the public that the intellects of the venerable monarch were irretrievably and permanently eclipsed.¶ In the month of April following, Lord Eldon mournfully

* Auckland Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 366. † Ibid., vol. iv. p. 367.
‡ Ibid., vol. iv. p. 368.
§ Ibid., vol. iv. p. 373. See also Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxi. col. 50, &c.
‖ Buckingham Papers under the Regency, vol. i. p. 133.
¶ Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxi. col. 73-99.

expresses his conviction of *the* "*utter improbability*" of his royal master ever recovering his reason.*

The eight painful remaining years of the existence of George the Third may be said to have been passed, with rare intervals, in mental and visual darkness. That dismal period was spent within the walls of Windsor Castle, where the King occupied a large and convenient suite of apartments on the ground floor fronting the North Terrace; probably the same rooms—looking "towards the fair College of Eton"—which Sir Thomas Herbert, the faithful attendant of Charles the First, informs us that his royal master tenanted during his brief and mournful sojourn at Windsor, on his way from Carisbrooke Castle to the scaffold.†

If we except the painful character of George the Third's disorder, the hand of Heaven would seem to have been laid gently and mercifully upon him. His bodily health long continued to be good, and though his mind, as regarded the present, was, generally speaking, a blank, his memory is said to have been singularly retentive of the events of the past, which, ordinarily, he was able to recall without their occasioning him uneasiness or distress. Happily, religion continued to afford him consolation, and the hopes of a bright eternity to illumine his darkness. Madame D'Arblay, who probably received her information from the Queen and Princesses, of whom she saw much in the spring of 1813, informs us that so far was the "beloved King" from being afflicted by any imaginary mental distress, that he believed himself to be constantly conversing with angels.‡ Six months afterwards, in October, 1813, we find him described as

L, 143, 144, 149.
es I. (*Harl. MSS*
" clearly includes
fac simile of Nor-

amusing himself with playing the flute; as ordering his own dinner; and as being allowed to receive frequent visits from the Queen in the presence of the royal physicians.* According to a French contemporary description of the bereaved and "august old man"—"blind, and wearing a long flowing beard"—another musical instrument upon which he solaced himself by performing, and which he played from memory with "surprising precision," was the violin. The bulletin which was exhibited at St. James's Palace on the 6th of November, 1813, intimates that "his spirits are generally in a comfortable state," and another bulletin, dated the 4th of December, that he "has passed the last month in tranquillity and comfort."† Nevertheless, there appear to have been occasions when he awoke to a keen sense of the great afflictions which had befallen him. One summer morning—when probably, outside his apartment, all was sunshine and cheerfulness—the Prince of Wales, happening to pay him a visit, found him bitterly lamenting his blindness. Pausing to catch his father's words, the Prince overheard him repeating, with pathetic solemnity, the mournful lines which Milton has placed in the mouth of Samson Agonistes—

> "O dark, dark, dark! Amid the blaze of noon
> Irrecoverably dark! Total eclipse
> Without all hope of day!
> O first erected Beam, and Thou, great Word,
> 'Let there be light! and light was over all,'
> Why am I thus bereaved Thy prime decree?"

This mournful scene is said to have so affected the Prince, as to compel him to hurry from the apartment in a paroxysm of tears.

During the first three years of the King's seclusion from the world, although the prospects of his ever recovering his reason were "few and far between," yet they were not altogether desperate. In 1814, for instance—at the inte-

* 'Times' for November 2, 1813; communicated apparently by authority.
† Ibid. for November 8, and December 6, 1813.

The slender hopes which had been entertained of the King's recovery in 1814, proved as evanescent as similar rays of hope had proved on former occasions. Instead of growing better he grew worse. Failure of hearing was added to his other afflictions. Thus bowed down by years, and afflicted with deafness, with loss of sight and reason, it would be difficult to conceive a more affecting spectacle, or one more suggestive of the instability of human greatness, than that of the crownless monarch as he appeared in his dreary and stately solitude. Habited in a dressing-gown of violet-coloured velvet—the star of the Order of the Garter affixed to his breast, and the aspect of his sightless eyes rendered doubly affecting from the interest awakened by his long hair and beard of silvery whiteness—the bereaved monarch was to be seen pacing his spacious apartments to and fro; sometimes stopping to accompany himself with his voice on one of the harpsichords, of which there was one in each apartment, and at other times discontinuing his walk to hold conversations with the visionary forms of departed Statesmen and Lords of the Bedchamber. When in one of these conversible moods, he was in the habit of relating anecdotes of himself and of his reign; occasionally interspersing them with sketches of the characters of one or more of the many remarkable men with whom, during his long existence, he had personally been brought into contact. A quarter of a century had passed away since the death of John Earl of Sandwich, yet the King, in speaking of his former Minister, was still overheard designating him by the Earl's once familiar nickname of "Jemmy Twitcher."* On such occasions as these, the smitten monarch would seem to have been all cheerfulness and affability.

* *See ante*, vol. i. pp. 218, 219. Lord Sandwich died April 30, 1792, at the age of seventy-four.

One remarkable feature in the King's disorder was the fact that he never forgot that he was King of England Although his manner to his attendants was invariably all kindness and condescension, it was evident that he expected from them all the respect and deference to which he had been accustomed in former days

Of the healing influence which religion still exercised over the mind of the afflicted monarch, we have an interesting account from the pen of the same accomplished lady to whom we have very recently referred 'I was much struck with the effect of habits of piety, from an instance given by one of the medical attendants of George the Third Sir David Dundas,* who, at that time, was not particularly happy in his own religious feelings, and that when irritation about the King commenced in the evening and which showed itself by incessant talking, a bad night was anticipated, and it was then customary to order rather earlier than usual, that his chair should be lifted as the signal for his removal into his bed room, his deafness and blindness making any other mode of communicating with him almost impossible When removed, he would offer up his prayers, after which it was his custom never to speak till he had again made his supplications in the morning But when the irritation was so violent that he could not pacify himself, he would cram his pocket-handkerchief into his mouth, till it was bitten through and through He then generally fell asleep like an infant Whenever it was reported in the bulletins that his Majesty had passed a disturbed night, the meaning was that the agitation could not be subdued Thus did habits of piety withstand and temper insanity!' †

Not only did religion thus cast its benignant rays over the gloom of mental darkness, but there were moments of

* Of Richmond, Surrey Serjeant-Surgeon to the King. Sir David was created a Baronet May 22, 1815 and died January 10 1826.

† Stuart MS

pious enthusiasm, when he imagined his apotheosis had taken place, and that he had become the blissful denizen of a brighter and a better world. "If anything," wrote the Princess Elizabeth to a lady who had been her instructress, "can make us more easy under the calamity which it has pleased Heaven to inflict on us, it is the apparent happiness that my revered father seems to feel. He considers himself no longer an inhabitant of this world; and often, when he has played one of his favourite tunes, observes that he was very fond of it when he was in the world. He speaks of the Queen and all his family, and hopes they are doing well now, for he loved them very much when he was with them."*

From the afflicted monarch let us revert for a brief while to his devoted and venerable consort, who, as the guardian of the King's person, and as the dispenser of the envied patronage of the royal household, had become invested with an importance which she had never coveted, and much less courted. With the consciousness, ever present to her mind, of her husband's deplorable con dition, and with other domestic sorrows to distress he constrained, moreover, against her will to exchange a l of comparative ease and seclusion for one of public harass, and responsibility, Queen Charlotte neverthel during the closing season of her existence, played part, and bore her troubles, with singular grace and nimity. Happily for her, she was not only cheer that same religious hope and confidence which sup her benighted consort, but she also possessed, with self, refined tastes and intellectual resources, whi dered her independent, alike of the flattery of court of the fripperies and profitless amusements of th Seldom, she once observed, had she passed a day time had hung heavy on her hands. There

* George the Third, his Court and Family, vol. ii. p. 42

House, for the purpose of delivering up his letter of credence. On entering her apartment, ushered by the Master of the Ceremonies, he found the Queen standing immediately in front of him with two of the Princesses, her daughters, one on each side of her. Near them were the Ladies in Waiting, and in another part of the room was the only other person present, the Lord Chamberlain. All were in full Court dresses. After the customary words of respect and kind wishes had been spoken by the Minister, he placed his letter in the Queen's hands. "As she took it," he writes, "she said that the sentiments I expressed were very obliging, and entered into conversation. Learning I was from Philadelphia, she asked questions about it, and others about the United States generally; all put in a very kind spirit. The interview lasted about fifteen minutes. As I entered the room," continues the Minister, "and during the whole interview, there was a benignity in her manner, which, in union with her age and rank, was both attractive and touching. The tones of her voice had a gentleness, the result in part of years, but full as much of intended suavity to a stranger. The scene, as it first broke upon me—its novelty—its quiet yet impressive stateliness—became almost immediately, by her manner, one of naturalness and ease."*

On the following day, the 26th of February, the Queen kept her birthday with the usual state at Buckingham House. It was the last which she was destined to celebrate. Notwithstanding her age and infirmities, she insisted on presiding personally at the usual Drawing Room held on such occasions; cushions having been so pre-arranged as to spare her, whether sitting or leaning, as much fatigue as possible, during the tedious ceremony.†

* 'A Residence at the Court of England,' by Richard Rush. First Series, pp. 97, 98, 99.

† Annual Register for 1818, p. 31; Chronicle.

Once more, before the grave closed upon Queen Charlotte, Mr Rush was afforded an opportunity of witnessing the venerable lady presiding over her model Court It was on the 7th of April—on the interesting occasion of the marriage of her gifted daughter the Princess Elizabeth, with the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Homburg "We got to the Palace," he write at seven o clock. Pages were on the stairs to conduct us to the rooms The ceremony took place in the Throne Room Before the throne was an altar covered with crimson velvet. A profusion of golden plate was upon it There was a salver of great size, on which was represented the Lord s Supper The company being assembled, the bridegroom entered with his attendants Then came the Queen with the bride and Royal Family All approached the altar Her Majesty sat, the rest stood The marriage service was read by the Archbishop of Canterbury The Duke of York gave the bride away The whole was according to the forms of the Church, and performed with great solemnity A record of the marriage was made When all was finished, the bride knelt before the Queen to receive her blessing Soon after the service was performed, the bride and bridegroom set off for Windsor The company remained The evening passed in high ceremony without excluding social ease From the members of the Royal Family the guests had every measure of courtesy The conduct of the Queen was remarkable This venerable personage—the head of a large family, her children then clustering about her—the female head of a great empire—in the seventy sixth year of her age,* went the rounds of the company, speaking to all There was a kindliness in her manner from which time had struck away useless forms No one did she omit Around her neck hung a minia-

* This is a slight error Queen Charlotte had not yet entered into her seventy fourth year

ture-portrait of the King. He was absent, scathed by the hand of Heaven; a marriage going on in one of his palaces, he the lonely, suffering tenant of another. But the portrait was a token superior to a Crown. It bespoke the natural glory of wife and mother, eclipsing the artificial glory of Queen. For more than fifty years this royal pair had lived together in affection. The scene would have been one of interest anywhere. May it not be noticed on a throne?"*

The Queen survived the marriage of her daughter little more than seven months. After a long and painful illness, she breathed her last, in the palace of Kew, on the 17th of November, 1818, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. While in the act of smiling on her children who surrounded her easy-chair, and while pressing the hand of the Prince Regent which she held within her own, she expired without a struggle or even a sigh. "The loss of the Queen," writes Sir Herbert Taylor, who was present at her departure, "will indeed be deeply felt by the whole nation, which cannot fail to do justice to her Majesty's virtuous conduct during so long a period passed under manifold trials. But it will be more particularly felt by those whose immediate intercourse with her Majesty, and close attendance, enabled them to appreciate the full extent of those invaluable qualities which did not meet the public eye. Her sufferings for some time past have been very great, and she has borne them with exemplary patience and resignation, such as a strong sense of religion alone could inspire. Much of her time was passed in prayer."†

On Wednesday, the 2nd of December, the remains of the deceased Queen were borne from Kew to Windsor, where they were solemnly interred, the same night, in the royal vault in St. George's Chapel. "The Queen,

* 'A Residence at the Court of England,' by Richard Rush. First Series, pp. [illegible]

† Letter to Lord Sidmouth; Pellew's Life of Sidmouth, vol. iii. p. [illegible]

the excellent, exemplary Queen," writes her old servant and companion, Madame D'Arblay, "was this day interred in the vault of her royal husband's ancestors; to moulder, like his subjects, bodily into dust, but mentally not so! She will live in the memory of those who knew her best, and be set up as an example even by those who only after death know, or at least *acknowledge*, her virtues I heard an admirable sermon on her departure, and her character, from Mr Repton in St James's Church I wept the whole time, as much from gratitude and tenderness to hear her thus appreciated, as from grief at her loss; to me a most heavy one, for she was faithfully, truly, and solidly attached to me, as I to her"*

On the death of Queen Charlotte, Parliament consigned the guardianship of the King's person to his favourite son, the Duke of York

In the mean time, the aged King had remained in the same afflicted state as when last we parted from him in his memorable solitude Once only, in 1817, he was visited by

* Madame D Arblay's Diary and Letters vol. vii p 340 The following stanzas, apostrophizing the afflicted monarch on the occasion of the funeral of his consort, are interesting as having been composed, at the time, by one of the students of his favourite school:—

"Monarch of England! could thy darkened eye
Pierce the thick gloom of intellectual night,
How would it view this sickening luxury,
This pomp dull glaring on the aching sight!
But thou art shut from Heaven's own blessed light,
Nor dawns one ray of reason on thy mind.

"Yet thou art happy! On thine aged ear
Unheeded falls the death knell of thy Queen,
Thick darkness dwells around thee, but no tear
In thy dim eyeballs glistening e'er is seen,
Unconscious art thou, as they ne'er had been,
Of regal troubles and the cares of State.
Unmarked, beneath thee passed this funeral scene,
The shroud of her, thine own long cherished mate,
Thou only didst not sigh, when England wept of late.
—*Poetry of the Eton College Magazine*, 1819, p. 92.

a few rays of reason, which, however, proved as transitory as on former similar mournful occasions. It was probably at this time, when his sense of hearing is said to have temporarily improved, that, his ear happening to catch the sound of the passing-bell of Windsor Church, he inquired for whom it was tolling. The deceased, he was given to understand, was a person whom he had known, and for whose character he entertained a respect — the wife of one of his neighbours, a Windsor tradesman. "She was a good woman," he said; "she brought up her family in the fear of God. She has gone to Heaven, and I hope I shall soon follow her."

With the departure of these last deceitful gleams of returning reason, the King's mind appears to have become an utter and unimpressible blank. Well, and pathetically, might he have repeated the further grand and mournful lines of Milton:—

> "With the year
> Seasons return, but not to me returns
> Day, or the sweet approach of Even or Morn,
> Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
> Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
> But cloud instead, and ever-during dark
> Surrounds me; from the cheerful ways of men
> Cut off, and, for the Book of knowledge fair,
> Presented with a universal blank
> Of Nature's works, to me expunged and rased."
>
> —*Paradise Lost*, Book iii.

Up to a certain time, the bereaved monarch had been able to distinguish the familiar footsteps of his attendants, but henceforth even this mournful satisfaction was denied to him. He was not only sightless, but became totally deaf. With the outward universe; with its hopes and its cares; with its joys, its aspirations, and its allurements; he was henceforth destined to have no single feeling in common with his fellow men. He had passed for ever from the grand theatre of the world, in the midst of the ceremonies and pomps of which he had once been the observed of all

observers "Mounted high upon his airy *throne*," he had become "the King of a fantastic throne;" his "most sovereign reason, like sweet bells jangled, out of tune;" his thoughts "such stuff as dreams are made on" All, as well within him as around him, was silence, darkness, and vacuity The meanest bird that flitted past the windows of his palace was more "sufficient for itself" than the crowned lord of that proud palatial fortress The seasons came and went The sun set and the moon rose. The snow fell The storm raged. The thunder rolled and the lightning flashed, yet, to the vacant mind and to the vacant eye of that august old man, all was as nothingness.

And, during his long years of seclusion, how many events of importance had taken place, deeply affecting either the interests of his subjects, or the happiness of those whom he loved! Great battles had been won by his armies, but the trophies of victory had been laid at the feet of another The return of Peace had been commemorated by illuminations and festivals, by the roar of artillery and the flourish of trumpets; yet, of the joyfulness which filled the hearts of millions, no gleam had reached his own. Those who were near and dear to him had married or been given in marriage, but at the nuptial banquet his seat had been vacant Not a strain of the merry joy-bells had reached his ear.

Yet, if Providence had denied to the benighted monarch the ability of sympathizing with the joys of his fellow-creatures, its dispensations had not been untempered with mercy Afflicting, as well as joyful, events had occurred during his disorder, which, had his reason been preserved to him, would probably have bowed him to the dust. Many of those whom he loved—his venerable sister, the Duchess of Brunswick; his beloved and blooming grand-daughter, the Princess Charlotte; her infant heir, the hope of millions; his beloved Queen, and lastly his son the Duke of



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Kent—had each preceded him to their last home. If it had been denied to him to mingle with the glittering nuptial throng, he had also been spared the spectacle of the mourning weeds and the funeral plume. If no note of the marriage-bell had reached his ear, he had also been deaf to the requiem, the muffled drum, and the minute-gun.

> *"Thy loved ones fell around thee. Manhood's prime,*
> *Youth with its glory, in its fulness age,*
> *All, at the gates of their eternal clime,*
> *Lay down, and closed their mortal pilgrimage;*
> *The land wore ashes for its perished flowers,*
> *The grave's imperial harvest. Thou, meanwhile,*
> *Didst walk unconscious through the royal towers,*
> *The one that wept not in the tearful isle!*
> *As a tired warrior, on his battle-plain,*
> *Breathes deep in dreams amidst the mourners and the slain."*
>
> —*Mrs. Hemans.*

At twelve o'clock on the night of the 29th of January, 1820, the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's Cathedral announced to the inhabitants of London that the afflicted monarch, who had ruled over them for sixty years, had ceased to exist. The King had been unwell in the month of November, yet, so late as the 1st of January, the bulletin of the physicians had been far from unsatisfactory. His Majesty, it was intimated, was subjected to some of the infirmities of old age, but his bodily health, during the preceding month, had been generally good. With the new year, however, a painful change took place. A gradual decay began to undermine his vital powers. His appetite entirely failed him. The small quantity of food which he was able to take afforded him no nourishment. It was found almost impossible to infuse warmth into his body. His strength grew feebler and feebler; his frame more and more emaciated.

Yet it was not till two days before his decease, Thursday the 27th, that the physicians considered his life to be in imminent danger. On the following day, Friday, he was

worse, and at night so alarming had become his symptoms that the Duke of York was hurriedly summoned from London to Windsor At ten o'clock on Saturday morning it was evident that his hour of dissolution was near at hand, and accordingly the Royal Family was prepared for the worst Under the same roof with the expiring monarch were his daughters the Princesses Augusta and Sophia, and the Duchess of Gloucester In the same apartment with him, besides the usual attendants, were the Duke of York, Lords Winchelsea and Henley, Sir Herbert Taylor, and all the physicians Happily, though the royal patient grew weaker and weaker as the day advanced, he was apparently exempt from even the slightest suffering Happily, too, no ray of returning reason indicated to him the character of the appalling tribulation by which he had been visited His death took place without a struggle Nature having by degrees become completely exhausted, at thirty five minutes past eight o'clock, on the evening of the 29th of January, the venerable monarch ceased to breathe At the time of his decease, George the Third had attained the age of eighty-one years and nearly eight months *

However unfilial may have been the conduct of the Prince Regent towards his father in his life time, he at least paid him the tribute of lamenting him when dead. Sir William Knighton, who was in attendance upon the new King on the night that he received the announcement of the demise of the Crown, described the "burst of grief" to which he gave vent as being very [illegible] †

During the King's long estrangement from the world, he had never been forgotten by his subjects. Their sympathies and prayers had been with him in the [illegible] tomb, and

* Mr Charles Knight has pointed out [illegible] that of the long line of kings who have ruled [illegible] George the [illegible] was the first who died in Windsor Castle

† Memoirs of Sir William Knighton vol [illegible]

when he expired they mourned him as a father. On the 12th of March, his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, writes to Lord Sidmouth from a foreign land—"My adored father's death, and the finding him so valued, respected, mourned, and regretted, has gone most deeply to my heart. For himself, dear angel! the change was undoubtedly a blessed one. He is now at peace and enjoying the just reward of his pious, virtuous, and well-spent life. In laying down his earthly crown, he has received his celestial one, which can never be lost to him. In the hearts of his children and his subjects he will ever live; and may God in his mercy grant that the virtues of both my excellent parents may be our safeguard and examples through life!" *

No pomp nor pageantry, which could do honour to the dead, were omitted at the solemnization of the obsequies of the late King. The ceremony of lying in state took place on Tuesday, the 15th of February. The night of the 16th was appointed for the funeral. As the long array consisting of the mourners in their sable costumes, of heralds in their gaudy tabards, and Princes of the Blood in their sad-coloured mantles—moved, by torchlight, from the principal porch of Windsor Castle to St. George's Chapel, it presented a grand and imposing spectacle. The platformed-route, along which the procession passed, was covered with black cloth and lined on each side by soldiers. The flourish of trumpets, and the sound of the muffled drums, mingling with the peal of the minute-guns and the tolling of the death-bell, added to the solemnity of the scene.

Shortly after nine o'clock, the mournful procession began to move through the southern portal of St. George's Chapel. The body was received by the Dean and Prebends in their canonicals, and by the choristers in

* Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. iii. pp. 308-9.

their surplices Immediately the organ struck up, and the voices of the Choir sang the solemn anthem—"I know that my Redeemer liveth" Slowly the procession passed into the beautiful choir of the chapel, where the Duke of York, as Chief Mourner, took his seat at the head of the coffin The funeral service was read by the Dean of Windsor, assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury The coffin having been lowered into the grave, and the dust thrown upon it, Garter King at-Arms proclaimed the titles of the deceased Once more, the volumed tones of the organ pealed along the vaulted roof and through the fretted aisles The mourners re arranged themselves, and departed nearly in the order in which they came The solemn ceremony was at an end The soldiers, who had lined the aisles, extinguished their tapers and retired Many persons, indeed, lingered to look down on the coffin and its splendid paraphernalia Soon, however, the last faint note of the organ died away in the distance, the last straggler withdrew through the ancient Gothic portal, and then the once powerful and flattered monarch was left alone in a darkness and silence, not more awful, perhaps, but even more desolate, than had lately overshadowed him in the neighbouring towers of the Plantagenets

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